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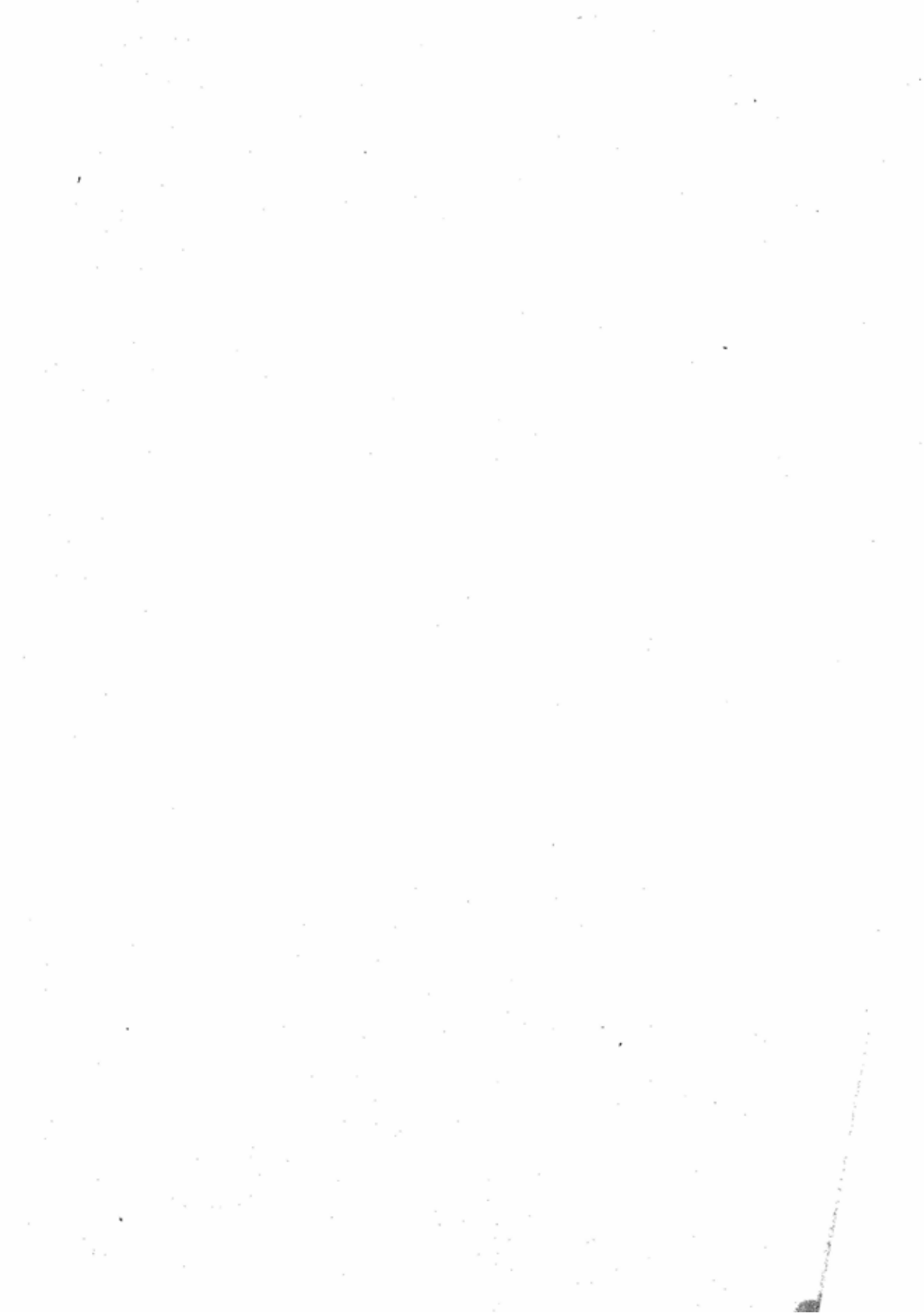
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BETH SHEMESH, 1928

ELIHU GRANT
HAVERFORD COLLEGE

While associated with the Badè excavations at Tell-en-Nasbeh in 1927, the writer made a trip with several scholars to Rumeileh near Artuf Station, the site of ancient Beth Shemesh, Palestine. From the published results of Mackenzie's excavations at this latter ruin in 1911 and 1912 and from our own examination of the tell, I decided that it was well worth renewed exploration. I should judge that the expeditions of the Palestine Exploration Fund under Mackenzie had accounted for about one-fifth of what may be known by digging Beth Shemesh. That pre-war enterprise found the south gate of the city and ran exploratory trenches due north from this point through the town. It cleared extensively at the extreme eastern end of the mound, laid bare the plan and whatever remains of a Byzantine convent at the south-eastern corner and then at the north of the city found valuable rock-cut tombs of the Israelite period.

We secured permission from the Department of Antiquities at Jerusalem for a campaign in the spring of 1928 and selected the westernmost corner of the mound (Fig. 1). Many details as well as the general plan of a good season's work are already known to a considerable number of readers, so that we may pay attention to certain of the more significant results.¹ But, very briefly, let us say that material remains suggestive of every century from 2000 B. C. to 700 B. C. were brought to light. The city walls themselves of which there were two with considerable patching may indicate the 19th, 15th, and 12th centuries B. C. The main layers, architecturally, are three, while stratification studies, and repairs in the lower levels of city buildings indicate five occupations. Traces were found also of the presence of an early Bronze Age population but no dwellings or cemeteries assuredly theirs. The traces mentioned are ceramic and consist of bits of rope-moulding and of ledge-handles of sufficiently varying types to spread them over about five hundred years previous to 2000 B. C.

One open-air sanctuary was found containing a limestone circular slab, grooved and pitted with pan and cup marks and associated with baetyls. This

¹ See also the recently published report of the 1928 expedition under the title "Beth Shemesh: Progress of the Haverford Archaeological Expedition," Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1929.

was probably Canaanite of the last bronze age. Two temple foundations, one enclosing the other, were exhumed. The building would appear to have been in use from the latest bronze period to the time of the final destruction of the city. A number of small cult objects were found within it, also column bases and a pedestal, possibly for the statue of the divinity. The larger, heavily constructed building is occidented toward the setting sun and there is suggestion that an earlier use of the premises saw a similar alignment. There is still somewhat to unearth before we can complete the architectural plans (Fig. 2).

The center of the open-air holy place is about fifteen meters south of the wall of the foundation. A little to one side of the tilted and cracked circular table-stone for offerings was a natural pit in the floor of bed rock. On the other, easterly, side was a carefully carved circular shaft in the rock floor. It was empty of anything beyond the usual soil filling.

Still eastward and a trifle higher in level was another circular slab, not grooved but corrugated in a rough natural surface. It was cemented with lime to its surrounding bed and south of it was a rugged natural pit in the bed rock.

It was but a very little to the north of slab No. 1 that the most perfect and surely the oldest of our Astartes was found. We gave it registry number 463 (Fig. 3). It is on a plaque of fine light brown clay which was fashioned in a mould and the edges pressed in. The figure of the goddess is nude except for the entwining floral and serpentine ornamentation. The face seems not completely human but partly ram-like, the side organs might appear to be curling horns rather than ears. The hair is parted. The arms are draped with reeds and the whole pattern is framed within reedlike ropes which seem to terminate in a pair of opposed heads at the top of the rectangle. One hand of the divinity grasps a lotus and the other a papyrus. Over the left shoulder descends a serpent with its head resting on the left thigh of the goddess. The umbilical and pelvic regions are designated and separated by a double line scored horizontally between them. The plaque measures 85 by 41 millimeters.

Two other Astarte figures are lacking heads and are otherwise damaged. Registry No. 445 is a plaque, plano-convex, with well moulded form, slight in its figure. The head and feet are gone. The hands are supporting the breasts. There is a slight chipping away in this region. The clay and treatment are suggestive of Late Bronze or even the Transition Age: light brown clay with a dark gray core. The fragment is 81 mm. long and was found on May 2 near the site of the copper shovel, between the two city walls.

Registry No. 427 which is 80 mm. long is a portion of a torso with promi-

nently pointed breasts. The mere stump of the upper left arm remains. Evidently it went straight out from the side of the body nearly on a line with the breasts. The scar in the clay where the right arm was attached to the body shows. A double row of incised points pricked as with a pin starts from high on the chest and runs within and beside the line of the left breast and curves outwardly toward the left thigh. It looks as if the front of the figure had been chipped away of a purpose carrying away much of the line of incised dots mentioned, so that there is no form left to the umbilical region or the legs. Feet, head and neck are gone. Of the dots, or points, there may have been fourteen in each row, averaging 3 mm. distance apart in the upper length of the line and 5 mm. between the two rows. The position of these dots reminds one of that of the serpent on No. 463. On this plaque the back is not well formed and is slightly concave. It is ashy gray in color, burned as well as baked. It was found in the mid-city on the Level IV.

No. 444 was found on April 20 on Level II, Room 17. Possibly it had been tossed up in the excavation of Cistern I. It was found in the debris in the room where C. I. descends and I believe was dropped from a basket. It is only 33 mm. high, is of pale red paste, finely smoothed, details painted in red. We thought it might be a part of a figurine of the snake goddess.

No. 201 (Fig. 3) is a head of a female figure, presumably an Astarte, executed in the round, differing thus from the others. It is, without doubt, the youngest of the five specimens and was found in the upper level of the temple. It is of typical Iron Age ware, being a light brown clay burning red and has a dark gray burned core. The fragment is 52 mm. tall. The greatest width across the line of cheeks and hair is 40 mm. The lines of face and forehead are framed in a braided or netted coil that conceals the ears. All that appears from the front is well moulded and the face tips to its own left side slightly. The formation of the back of the head is neglected. The reason seems to be suggested by Dr. Mackenzie in his description of a similar one found by him.²

We suggest tentatively as dates for these five figurines, or fragments, the following:

No. 463	ca. 1400 B. C.
" 444	" 1300 "
" 445	" 1200 "
" 427	" 900 "
" 201	" 750 "

² See the *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual* for 1912-1913, p. 54.

Certain findings of Mackenzie were confirmed in our sector, for example the successive destructions of Beth Shemesh by fire, among other agents, with resultant lines of ash and charcoal in the strata; also the wall structures for defense and the abandonment of these at a date possibly about 1100 B. C., perhaps synchronous with the seizure of the town by the Hebrews. After that event no city wall seems to have been tolerated. Cheap house structures and appurtenances run over the region of the wall's top and into the suburbs. It was in our clearance of these extra mural spaces of our 1928 sector that we came on certain archaeological prizes, to wit the three cemeteries of whose contents we wish to treat more particularly. They were so separate, so individualistic in their chronology and pottery types and synchronized so well with the sherds from appropriate occupational layers within the city streets and houses that we are disposed to treat them as the most interesting study afforded by the dig. This fact has been growing upon us as we have conned the records of the field-work.

We found the cemeteries in the order of the youngest which we call T. 1., the middle-aged, T. 2., and the oldest, T. 3. The clearest evidences that ceramics alone can give designate the last found burial cave as of the age of Middle Bronze and perhaps even the earliest part of that period which would crowd it toward 2000 B. C.

The types well known as of Middle Bronze Canaanite dishes are here in good numbers with many in perfect condition. There is no admixture of those characteristic lustrous surface "Cypriote" importations such as we found in T. 1, and T. 2. Having received its complement of burials, the bones of which were the least well preserved of any we found, the cave, which opens on a ramp-like descent, was sealed. This opening we discovered within the fine palatial house at the southern corner of the dig, the house which ends or backs on the city wall itself. The cave then rambles under the city wall and beyond. This in itself is very significant. It is hardly conceivable that either the cave users or the wall builders knew of each other and the cemetery was there first, in all probability. This cave had been sealed so carefully that it was but a third filled with silt and debris.³ It may have been the place of interment for a noble clan at the beginning of the second millennium. The entire contents of T. 3 was a part of the share allowed to the expedition by the Palestine Government so that we have this collection now in America. This was our latest discovery and dates earliest of any important findings this season.

³ See illustration on page 1 of *The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, February, 1929, No. 33.

T. 2, which was our designation of the second of the cemeteries as found, was a rambling series of cracks and pits and tunnelings which we numbered in a half dozen sections. We chose to keep the same cemetery number and to differentiate its connecting divisions by alphabetic letters and other distinctions, e. g. T. 2 A, B, C, D, E, tunnel, etc. The relationship between the parts is thus kept. The system began slightly south of the city wall and meandered according to the natural pockets in the rock face. Each pit and crack was completely filled with burial deposits, silt and fallen marl from the side walls and roofs and the entire surface was under two meters of extra-mural debris.

In many respects T. 1 was the most interesting of the cemeteries as well as the youngest. To our view at first, it was a deep, nearly circular shaft, two meters below the extra-mural debris and somewhat farther from the wall of the city than the T. 2 system. It widened as it descended until the lower part resembled a huge tuber. It was filled to the brim with burials and silt and was the largest of the three. It might be called the transition cemetery and its pottery styles will repay careful comparative study. In a sense all considerable funereal collections will exhibit this transitional feature, showing certain forms of pottery which have held over from a former age and certain others anticipatory of that which is to prevail in a later period as well as those forms which more solidly typify the dominants within the age of the tomb-group. But T. 1 is unusually full of styles that anticipated the varied shapes and the more liberal use of color patterns with which the earliest Iron Age styles set back upon the late bronze types. The importations, too, from the Mediterranean islands particularly, have greatly increased in number and variety and the local potters of Beth Shemesh attempted to imitate them. Indeed it was the new art in the Mediterranean lands west of Palestine which flecked the Palestine ceramic with color design. Palestine did not have the clays nor the gifts, except that of appreciation to buy and to imitate the Cypriote, Rhodian, Mycenaean (and other post-Minoan triumphs). The strong influence of Egypt was apparent in all the periods at Beth Shemesh but growingly in the Late Bronze Age we see the more northerly and northwesterly influences. In T. 1 the Mediterranean influences in pottery culminate. An example of frank imitation is the case of the pyx. We found beautiful specimens of thin, strong ware of well washed homogeneous clay made into a tough, well baked paste treated to a lustrous surface and excellent painted design, golden brown, reddish and sienna. Pyx, bugelkanne, and flask and little piriform juglets of the best ware were found and the obvious modellings after these in coarse local materials were abundant in T. 1. T. 2 had a suggestion of this exotic

stuff but was more closely controlled by the proper styles of the Bronze Age Canaanite. The burst of invention and color on the threshold of the Iron Age must have been immensely popular throughout these interrelated markets. When the easy trade relations with the island world were cramped, the later and local Iron Age products took on a leathery utility in appearance which marks the ware in the age of the great prophets.

The ceramics of Canaan are eloquent of the historical changes in political fortune and social composition. Fortunately, at Beth Shemesh, we seem to have a check upon our observations of the burial deposits by the aid of the fragments and occasional whole specimens of similar ware both foreign and local which we find in the streets and dwellings of the city. A very gradual progression took place marked by the sherds of the city and a large supply of complete vases in the tombs.

In T. 3 a rich brown tone prevails on the vessels underneath the more frequent patina. The core of the ware, when broken, shows dark gray from imperfect baking. The large storage jars with tapering, unstable bases have a band of parallel, finely combed lines incised around the vessel about the height of the shoulder. These elongated, tapering storage jars with high shoulders are in contrast with the more squat and bulging vessels of the Early Bronze Age. The dipper jars which are often found within them are numerous, many specimens having been spared whole when the big jars they served were smashed. In contrast with the large jars are tiny juglets usually with button foot though a few flat bottom ones were found. The button is tinier than in the T. 2 specimens. Certain of these juglets had been treated to a coat of red paint which had been burnished. Almost a characteristic shape of (Mid. Bronze) T. 3 is the plum or prune-shaped vessel which persists, modified, into later times as several of our specimens show. The saucers and lamps, or saucers pinched to hold a wick, are of a simple variety. The bowls and open dishes are among the most attractive of the objects and lead the way for a great development and diversity in the T. 2 system. Particularly intriguing are the bevels in the shoulders of the bowls. Quite characteristic of the small jugs of Middle Bronze is the dark gray ware incised frequently in pattern with a fine point as of a comb pricked point and meant to be filled with a white powder. These generally have a fluted handle (or strap).

In T. 2 we have the oenochoe known in Arabic speaking countries as "bilbil," an imitation of a leather bottle, with ring base and superficial ornament made sometimes by raised pattern and sometimes by white or reddish-brown paint (Fig. 4). The fluted handles are richly developed and then tend

to pass on to strap handles. (Though these latter are known in T. 3). The tiny button foot on jugs becomes larger and the comb pricking or incised dot disappeared except for the deep lying burial of T. 2. D.⁴ The flat bottom juglet tends to become more common. The bowl has a rich development (Fig. 5), the standard dish (libation bowl?) begins. The lamp is provided with a sharper pinching at the wick end. The triple flute and snake motives appear on handles. (We have one triple fluted handle in T. 3.)

In T. 1 we have the greatest variety yet seen at Beth Shemesh, the richest coloring, the widest range of design in every respect. Lovely island ware appears in thin, strong paste, with fine lustrous surface and painted decoration and there are many imitations of the little pot or box-like juglet known as the pyx. The lamps are more sharply pinched at the nozzle. Vase designs, not before attempted, appear, elongated and with curiously slender neck; bowls and basins remind one of those called Philistine. Freak shapes appear; one flask, the shape of a powder horn, or cornucopia, is, apparently, unlike anything known before. The "bilbil" oenochoe has been succeeded by erect jugs and some of these have become corpulent about the waist. Huge openings at the mouth, also pleasing trefoil openings in many sizes characterize the jars. We recovered perfect examples of spouted pails with bails. Bowls and open dishes because of their great usefulness continue plentiful. The wishbone handle (No. 480) appears on a bowl.

Concerning the arrangement of burial deposits we have nothing new to say. The latest burial in T. 1 gave us, at first, the hope of an undisturbed cluster as first interred but we are not warranted in claiming so much. In general each burial arrangement disarranged, sometimes hopelessly, the previous deposit, and in every one, even the latest, it would seem that vessels and fragments were foisted upon layers not their own by forces other than mere disintegration and collapse of the side-walls of rock.

Our excavations in the spring of 1928 may have found an unusually rich segment of old Beth Shemesh. We hope that this is not the case as we should naturally like to be favored with increasing importance of findings as we proceed.

The first volume of the expedition to Beth Shemesh,⁵ breaks ground and makes available graphic illustrations of the wares. It is hoped to follow with more of detail in special articles and possibly other volumes.

⁴ This type is illustrated in *Palestine Museum Bulletin*, No. 3, 1926, Plate VI, 10 and 11, and called "Hyksos."

⁵ See note 1, p. 1.

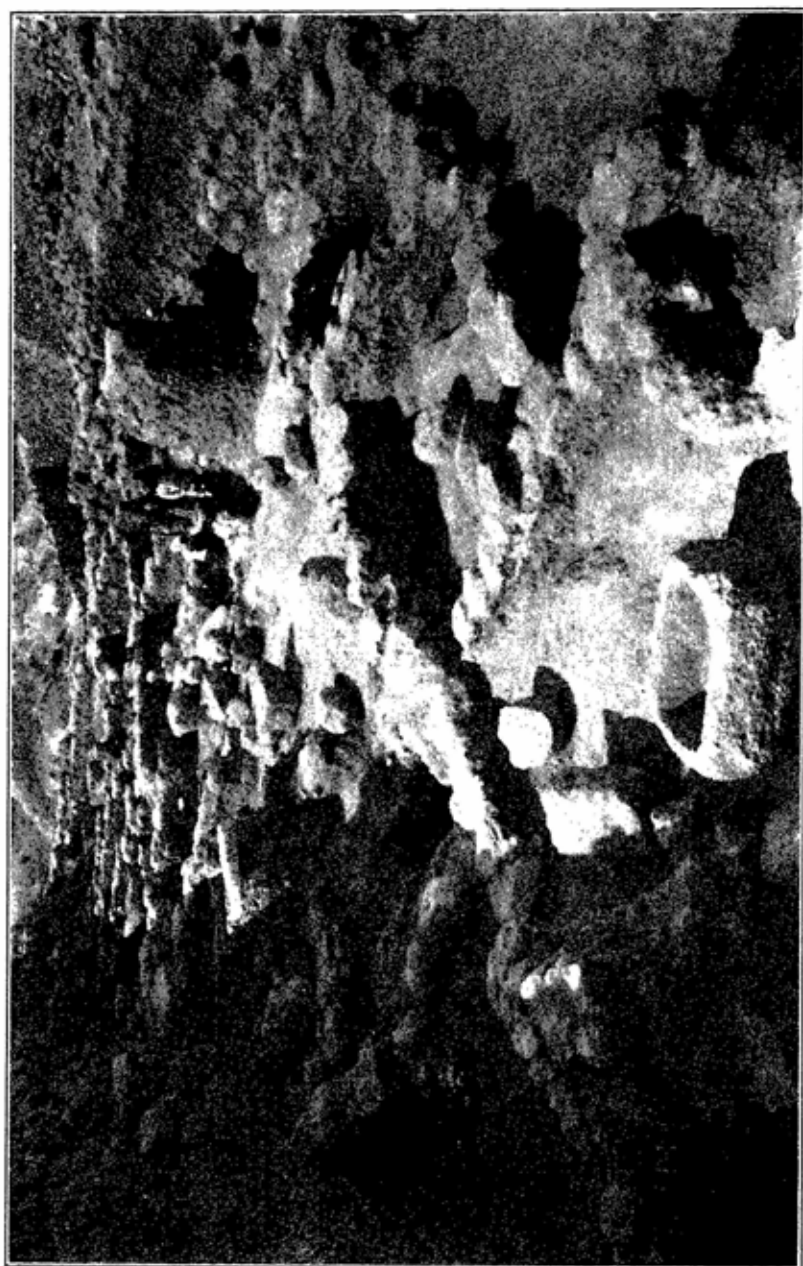


FIG. 1.

Beth Shemesh excavations 1928. Looking South from the Temple across the Bronze Age Canaanite level. Cemetaries were found at the southern edge of this sector.

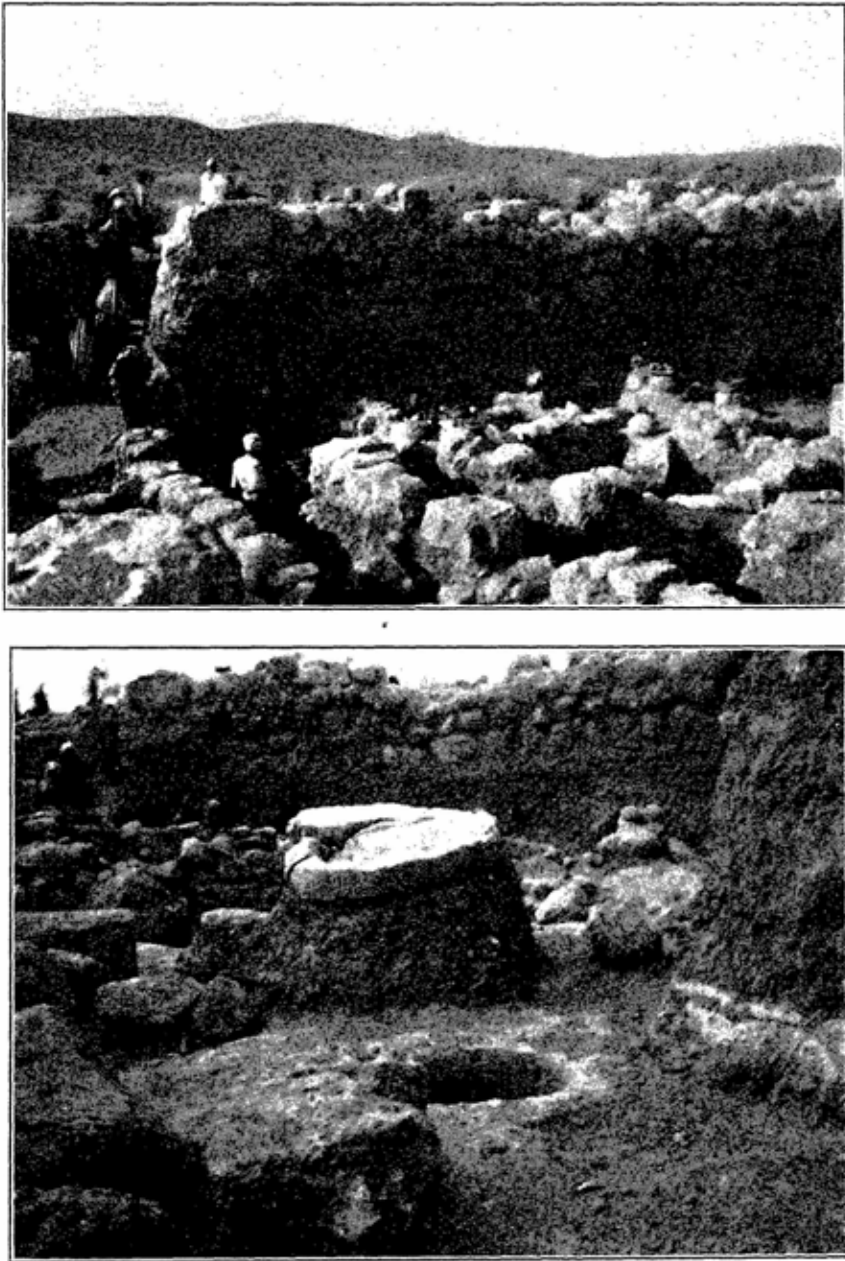


FIG. 2.

Beth Shemesh, 1928. Upper view shows the Southern side of the Temple. Sar'a, ancient Zorah is visible on the horizon. Lower: The stone offerings-table and deep shaft just short of the temple structure. The earth supporting the table has not been disturbed.

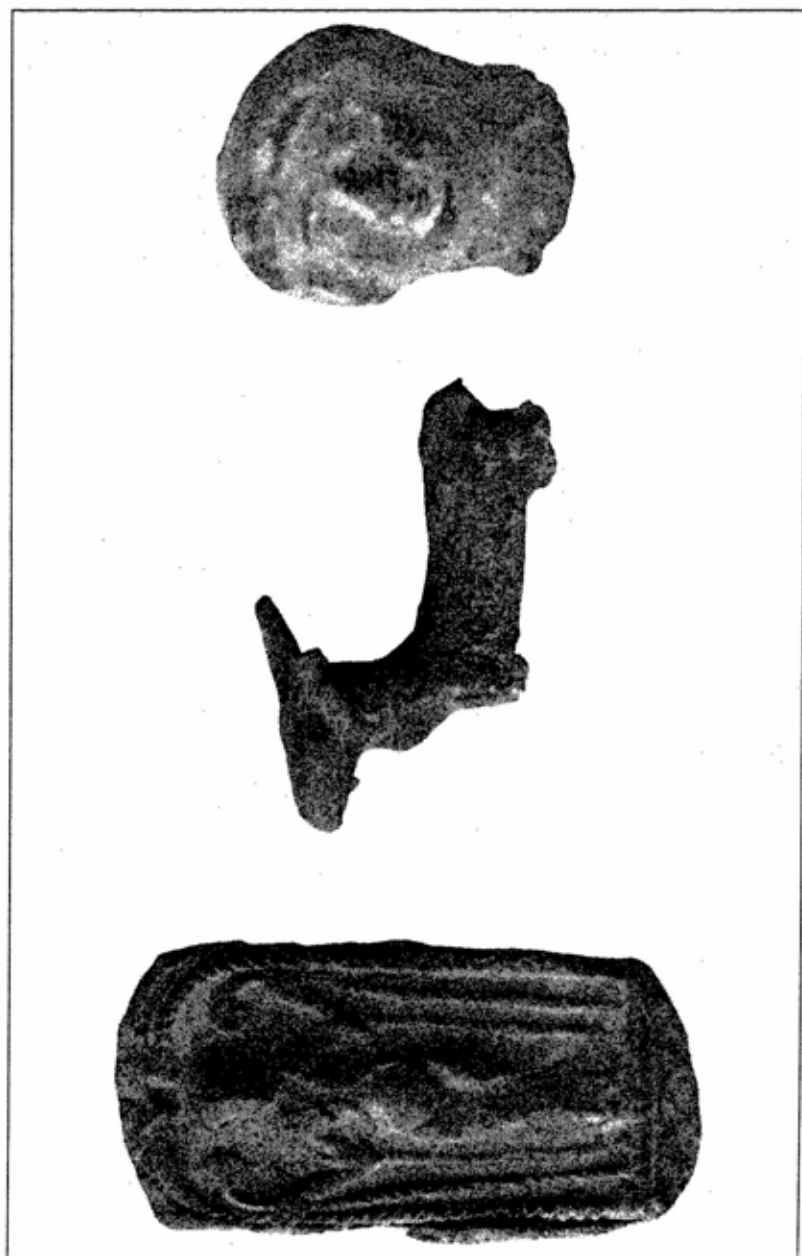


FIG. 3.

Two nstartes found at Beth Shemesh, 1928, and clay figurine of gazelle, sacred animal of the goddess.

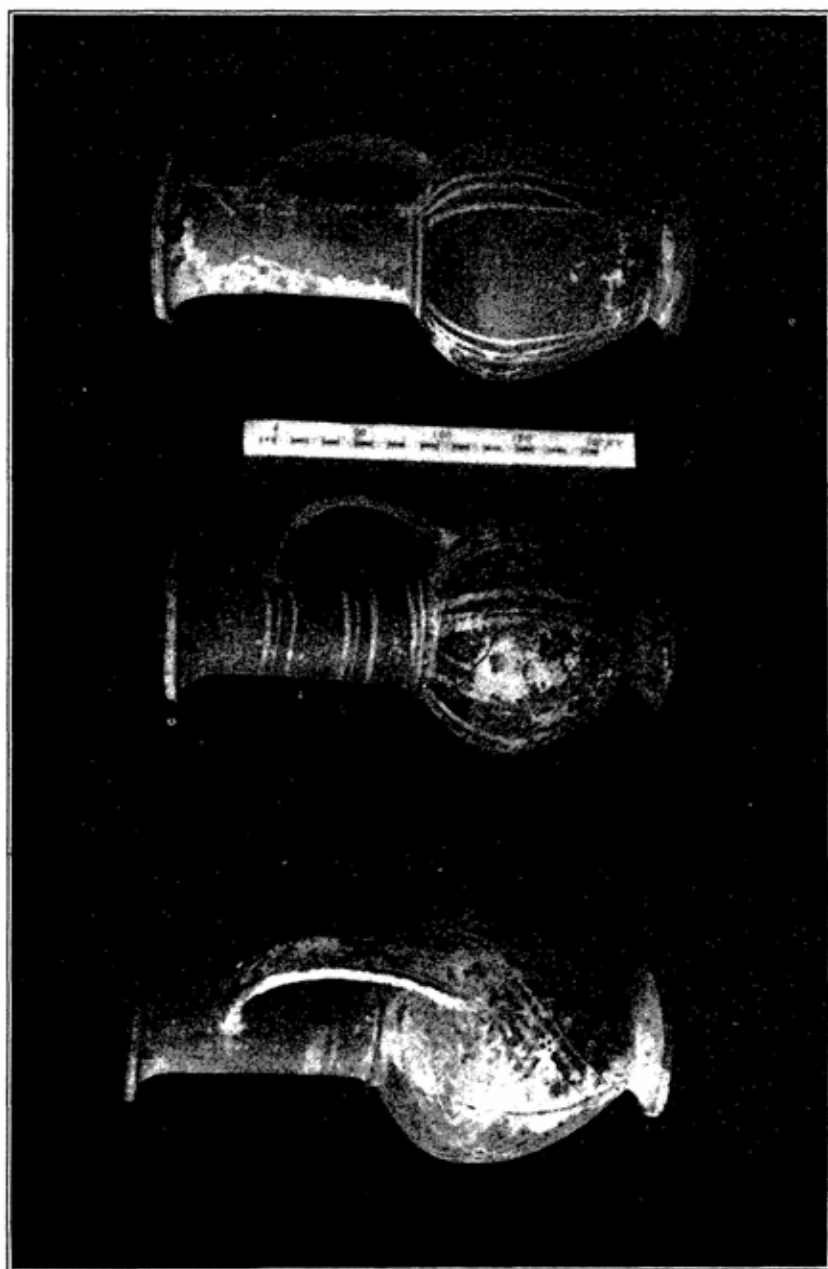


FIG. 4.
Type of oenochoe known locally by the term "bilbil."

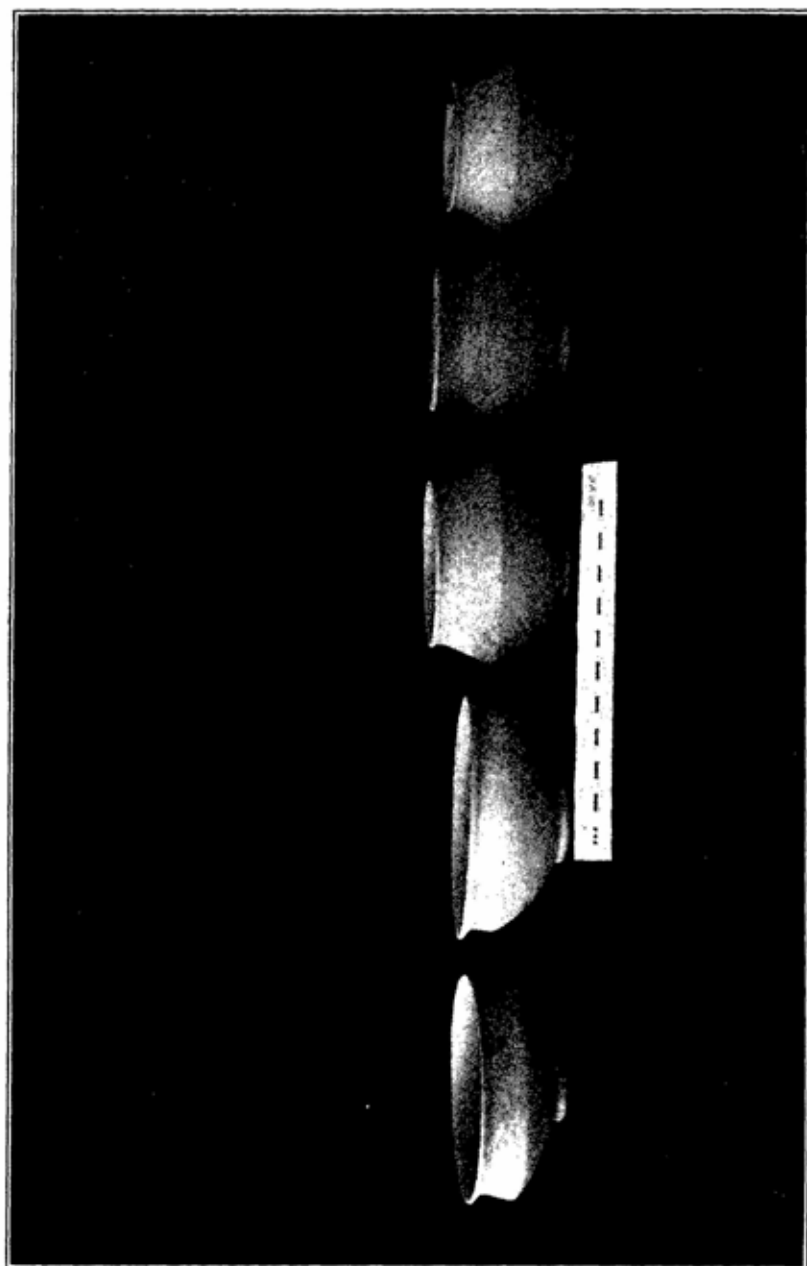


FIG. 5.

Bowls found in the Second Cemetery at Beth Shemesh, 1928.

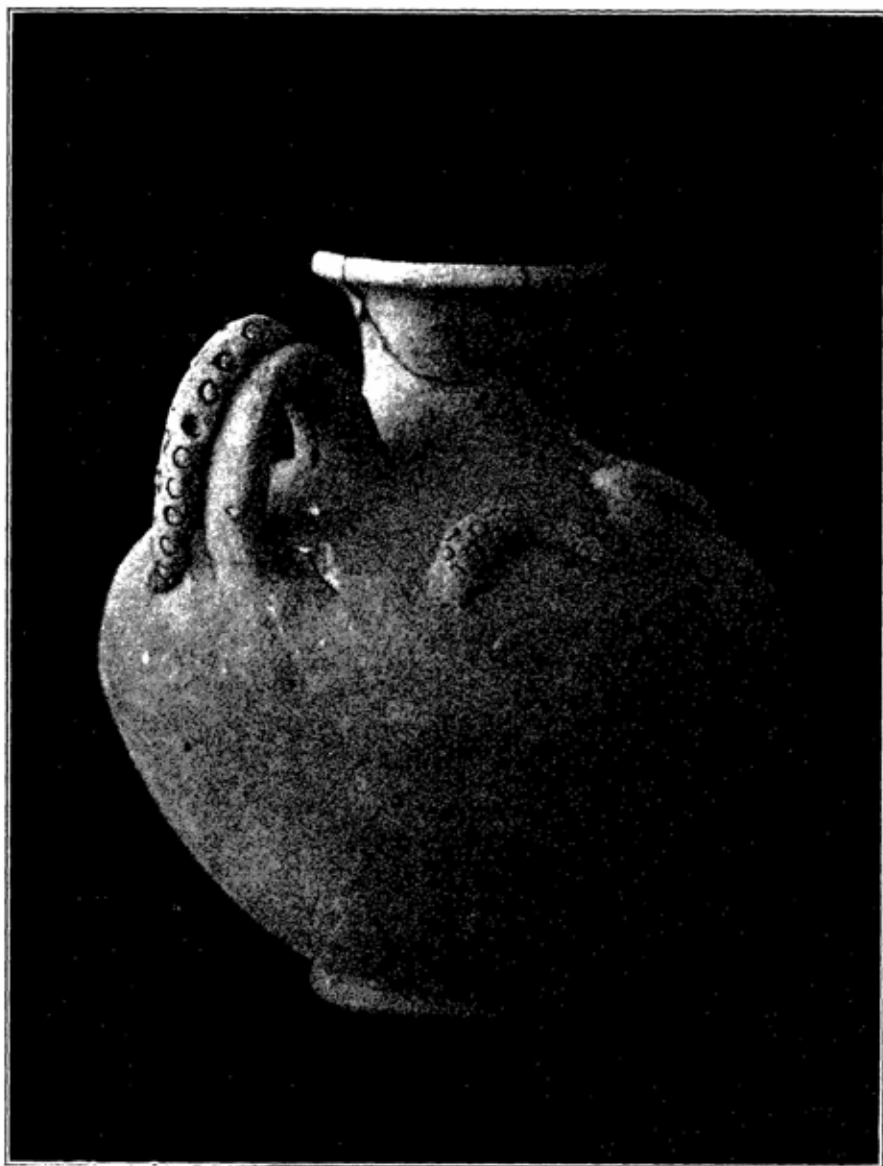


FIG. 6.

Fluted-handle jug with snake ornamentation. Beth Shemesh, 1928. Second Cemetery.
(127 mm. high)

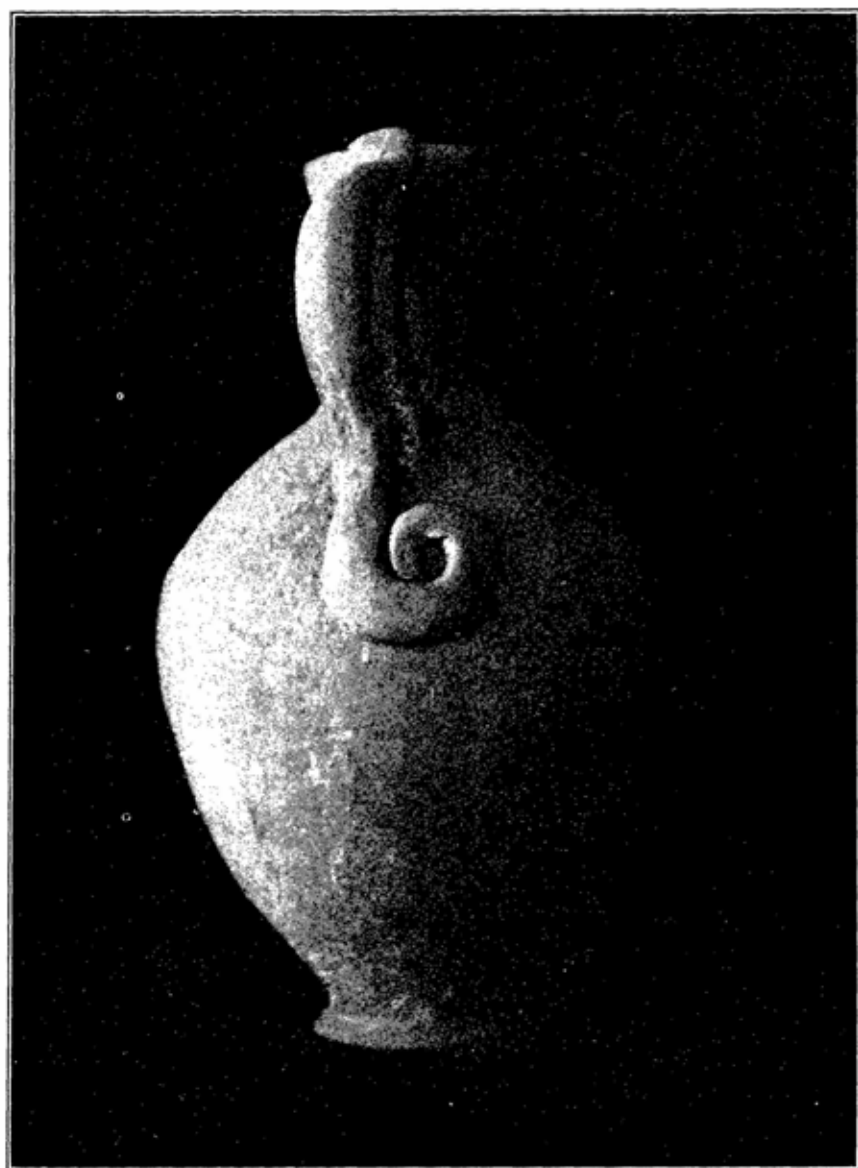


FIG. 7.

Jug with snake ornament on handle. Head extends over the brim. Beth Shemesh, 1928. Second Cemetery. (205 mm. high.)

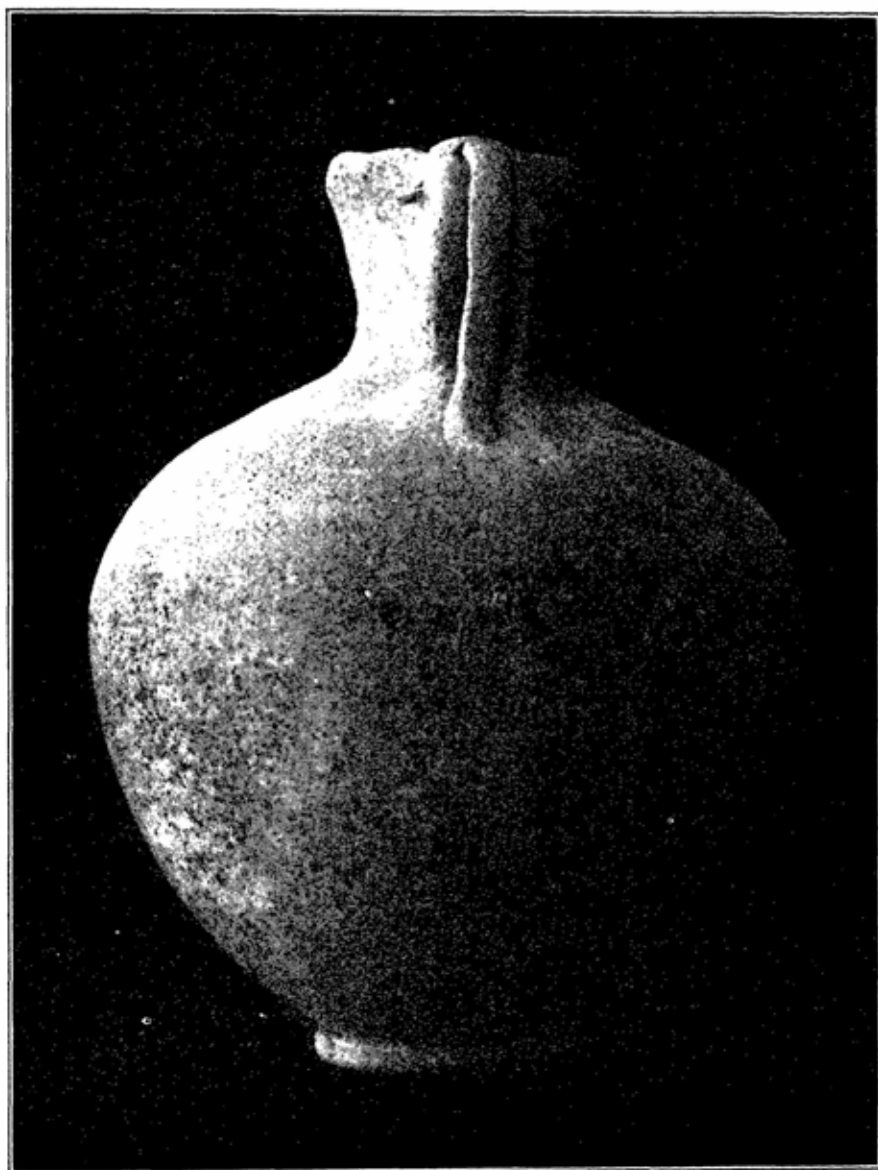


FIG. 8.

Jug from Second Cemetery at Beth Shemesh, 1928. A conventionalized development of the snake ornament on the handle. (225 mm. high.)

PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS AT TEPE GAWRA ¹

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1. INTRODUCTORY

Although a single political unit at present, modern Iraq ² is far from being uniform geographically, ethnically, or linguistically. With regard to these aspects the country falls roughly into two major divisions. The desert and marsh-lands of the South, with Baghdad and Basra as their present-day capitals, are peopled by Arabs, both settled and nomadic, who have enriched their Semitic ³ idiom with several fairly distinct dialects. The North on the other hand is comparatively well-watered and mountainous; the population is predominantly Kurdish in the villages, Turkoman in the town settlements; only Mosul, the modern capital of the northern section, has a larger Arab community.

This division, originating as it does in the physical character of the land, is traceable through the entire course of the recorded history of Mesopotamia. Sumer and Akkad were distinct from Assyria, Arrapha, or Gutium; indeed, it may be said that the conflict between and the interrelationship of North and South largely conditioned the progress of events in the Land of the Two Rivers.

It is of great interest, therefore, to note that a similar relationship existed in what we must still term the 'prehistoric' period. Recent excavations and

¹ It is my pleasant task to express at the outset my appreciation of the institutions that made possible the undertaking described below: The authorities of the American Schools of Oriental Research sponsored and aided every phase of my work in Iraq in general and the excavation at Tepe Gawra in particular. By granting me one of its valuable Fellowships for two years in succession, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation provided the necessary means for a lengthy stay in the Orient. The Dropsie College of Philadelphia, through its President Dr. Cyrus Adler, kindly undertook to furnish the funds for a year's survey of Northern Iraq; part of that sum could later be employed for the purpose of the *sondages* at Gawra. And lastly, both the British and local Government officials were always helpful and accommodating; without their efficient cooperation very little could be accomplished in an outlying district like the one in which the mound is situated.

² For the better known names the spellings found on the latest survey maps have been adopted in preference to the often cumbersome etymological writings.

³ For want of a better name the term 'Semitic' is used here not only in its correct linguistic sense, but also in the less exact signification of a *people* speaking a Semitic language.

surveying tours have brought to light definite evidence that in the earliest times known to us at present, Mesopotamia furnished the stage on which heterogeneous influences met and crossed; influences that, whatever their ultimate origin, emanate at the time when they first come within our view from northern and southern centers respectively.

Any discussion of prehistoric remains in the Near East is bound to revolve around a special type of painted pottery, which has been shown to be characteristic of the neolithic and chalcolithic eras in that part of the world.⁴ The ware in question shows peculiarities of technique and design which may, within certain limits and with due caution, be considered as criteria of early age and, to a more restricted degree, also of relationship.

The work of the "Délégation en Perse" under M. de Morgan first brought to the attention of archaeologists the painted ceramics under discussion.⁵ In the lowest strata of the main tell at Susa, 25 meters below the surface, unusually beautiful specimens of painted ware were discovered; it was evident that the decorated pottery belonged to the very earliest period of the site, and, as further study showed, antedated the oldest documentarily attested epoch in the neighboring country of Sumer. As work progressed it also became clear that the painted fabrics of Susa really belonged to two distinct civilizations, Susa I and II; curiously enough, the finest ware as well as the best specimens of decoration went back to the earlier of the two civilizations.⁶ "Susian" ware was later discovered at Tepe Musyan, about 150 km. west of the site of the Elamite capital;⁷ similar (though not identical) pottery was also found at Bender Bushire, on the Persian Gulf,⁸ with which the painted ceramics of Abu Shahrein⁹ (ancient Eridu) and Tell el-'Obeid¹⁰ (4 miles west of Ur)

⁴ Both names are combined in the convenient name 'aeneolithic,' which will be used below; but while this application is perfectly correct in the South, where the stone implements are found together with the earliest objects made of metal, copper is not in evidence in Gawra until the latest of its three civilizations is encountered, so that 'neolithic' is correct in that instance.

⁵ Cf. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, I, pp. 59 ff., 183, and vol. XIII. Lack of space makes it necessary here to limit the footnotes, on the whole, to the barest indications of sources. A fuller discussion of the problems outlined in the third chapter of this paper is being prepared for a forthcoming number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, where the full apparatus will be included.

⁶ Cf. especially H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I (1924) pp. 22 ff., and E. Pottier, *Une théorie nouvelle sur les vases de Susa: Revue Archéologique*, XXIII (1926).

⁷ J. E. Gautier et G. Lampre, *Fouilles à Moussian: Mém.* VIII, pp. 59-148.

⁸ M. Pézard, *Mission à Bender Bushire: Mém.* XV.

⁹ R. Campbell Thompson, *Archaeologia LXX* (1920), pp. 100-124.

¹⁰ H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur, I: Al-Ubaid* (1927).

has been rightly compared by the excavators of the latter sites. When other types of painted pottery of an early date began to be adduced, the sites on which it occurred extending from Thessaly and Anatolia through Northern Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, as far as Turkestan (Anau) and even Manchuria,¹¹ some scholars were prepared to visualize a uniform prehistoric civilization, embracing an enormous section of the Old World. But so unprecedented an expanse of an early and allegedly homogeneous culture raised in the minds of other scholars serious doubts as to the actual relationship of all types in question. The inevitable reaction brought with it greater caution in dealing with the subject, and was instrumental in the establishment of stricter laws of comparison. A brilliant and stimulating monograph by H. Frankfort¹² has shown to what extent historical deductions from the study of pottery may be plausibly carried, when an exhaustive treatment of all the elements of technique and decoration is employed as a basis. After superficial similarities have been ruled out for the time being, a closer relationship appears to exist between the wares of Musyan and late Susa I, between Bender Bushire and Lower Mesopotamia with probable contacts with Musyan, and lastly between Susa II and Palestine and Syria.¹³ It must be remembered, however, that all possibilities have not as yet been exhausted, and that new discoveries may furnish us with connecting links between cultures, which it were unwise at present to group together on account of insufficient evidence.

This is not the place to go into more detail with regard to this intensely fascinating subject, nor would I feel sufficiently competent to do so. If the same question comes up again later on in the discussion, it is only because a large number of painted fragments were dug up in course of the brief campaign at Tepe Gawra, which it is the purpose of the present paper to describe. In point of fact, the choice of the site for trial soundings was determined by the presence on its surface of such early decorated ware. The surface remains contained also indications of contacts at an early date with Lower Mesopotamia, so that the mound appeared very promising indeed. But I must not anticipate.

I had practically completed my first season in Iraq before I came upon Tepe Gawra. Arriving in Baghdad in November, 1926, I proceeded to make a general survey of the archaeological remains in Northern Iraq, about which comparatively little is still known beyond the few classical Assyrian sites. It

¹¹ The bibliography is too extensive to be included here. A number of publications dealing with the painted pottery of the Far East were kindly suggested to me by Mr. V. J. Fewkes, of the University of Pennsylvania.

¹² *Op cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 70, P. Vincent in *Syria*, V (1924), 315.

was hoped that a few months spent in the less traveled districts east of the Tigris would help us obtain an approximate idea of the archaeological possibilities of the whole area. The survey took me from the foot of the Awraman range, on the Persian border, to the western limits of the Sinjar mountains, which lead into Syrian territory. Now among the most interesting results of the season's journeyings I should place the finding of a large number of sites covered with painted pottery of the above-mentioned type. It was indicated above that a very early date for that ware is universally accepted, even if some doubt may be felt as to the precise relationship of the several groups comprising the ceramics in question. The dating is placed beyond the possibility of dispute when the decorated fragments are found together with flint implements and obsidian flakes; in that case we may speak definitely of an aeneolithic occupation. In Northern Iraq the early painted pottery was found invariably accompanied by implements of the aeneolithic age.

The limited space at my disposal will not permit me to present all the information relating to prehistoric settlements in Northern Iraq that I have collected. I shall attempt here to indicate only the more important centers where mounds containing early painted pottery have been found in larger numbers. The neighborhood of Kirkuk is very rich in early remains. There is a group of prehistoric mounds to the south-west of the town, which includes Badawa, Qutush Kebir and Qutush Seghir in the vicinity of ancient Nuzi, several mounds in Wiran Shehr, Tell Arrafat, and others down to the Lesser Zab.¹⁴ To the south of Kirkuk (ancient Arrapha), in the district of Tauq (ancient Duqaqina), there is another cluster of similar sites, among which the splendid mounds Tell edh-Dhiyāb and Para-Para are the most prominent ones. Some of the decorated sherds which I picked up on Tell edh-Dhiyāb were almost exact duplicates of fragments collected at Tell el-'Obeid two months earlier. To the north-east of Kirkuk aeneolithic remains appear to be less numerous. Tepe Helan, on the road between Altun Kopri and Guweir (on the Upper Zab) yielded fine specimens of painted ceramics and of flints. To the south of Erbil, between the ranges of Amana and Qarachok, Girda Kuchek was found to contain prehistoric pottery. On the whole, however, the older sites are comparatively isolated in these parts, until we come close to Mosul. Here we find another group of *tells*, fully as rich in aeneolithic remains as the plain south, and south-west of Kirkuk.

That the lowest strata of Nineveh¹⁵ go back to very early times has been known since the excavations of the late L. W. King, who at the beginning of

¹⁴ See *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR)* 28 (1927), pp. 13 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929).

the century dug down to a level 68 feet below the surface where he found in dark earth a number of obsidian knives. The site of the Late Assyrian capital was occupied, accordingly, at least two thousand years before the city attained to its prime. Nor was prehistoric Nineveh a sporadic settlement in a sparsely inhabited district. For a few days surveying in the neighborhood of Mosul brought out the very interesting fact that the whole region is full of remains dating from very early times. The plain through which the Khosr lazily winds its way to reach the Tigris under the shadow of the walls of Nineveh, was in those remote days teeming with human activity; the adjoining districts were also well populated. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any subsequent period, not excluding the heyday of Assyrian power, ever witnessed an occupation of greater proportions.

On April 20th, 1927, I visited a small mound a mile north-west of Mosul where fragments of the tell-tale painted pottery were found on the surface. Three days later I started out in an old Ford automobile for Qarakosh, about twenty miles east of Mosul, with a young Arab servant named Yunis, who was the factotum on all such trips. The plan was to cover the area between Qarakosh and Khorsabad with Jebel Ba'shiqah as our northern boundary. The first day we examined several Assyrian mounds, none of which appeared very promising. The following day we visited the famous ruins at Balawat and started back eastwards for Khorsabad. A little past the Christian village of Keramlis we came upon Khaznah Tepe,¹⁶ a low and irregular mound close by a village of the same name. 'Treasure Mound' seemed a very inappropriate designation for the insignificant heap of earth. Presently, however, we found good reason to change our opinion. The *tepe* was covered with fine fragments of black-painted ware with somewhat coarser red-painted sherds mixed in. Flints and obsidians around the base of the mound left no doubt as to the remote antiquity of the surface remains. Here was a real treasure, though quite different in character from the kind which the word *khaznah* signifies to the local Shebbek.¹⁷ For the rest of that day we moved from one

¹⁶ This name is given to numerous mounds in the Near East. Wherever there are ancient remains the natives are apt to suspect the existence of treasures, and since *khaznah* is employed in that sense not only by the Arabs but also by the Persians, Kurds, and Turks, it is not difficult to account for the spread of the name through the area occupied by those peoples.

¹⁷ The district north of Mosul is known for its confusingly large array of distinct ethnic and religious groups. Apart from Kurds, Turks, and Arabs, there are the 'Chaldean Syrians' of Tell Keif and Elqosh, the Nestorian 'Assyrians' driven out of Turkey, the 'devil-worshipping' Yezidis scattered from Ba'shiqah to Sheikh Adi, the Shi'ite Shebbek who represent a group that immigrated from the Persian border districts several centuries ago, and the Sunni Bazhwan, the people who occupy the

prehistoric site to another. A mound very similar to Khaznah Tepe is to be found in the village of Baqrtayah, two miles to the south. Continuing to Ba'shiqah we stopped at the low but extensive Tell eth-Tha'ālib, which yielded numerous fragments of decorated pottery and exceptionally fine obsidian implements. The similarity between the black-painted ceramics of Tell eth-Tha'ālib and that of Tell edh-Dhiyāb is indeed remarkable. The lattice design is especially well represented on both the 'Mound of the Foxes' and on the 'Mound of the Wolves'; one forgets easily that the distance between the two is one hundred and fifty miles, and that Tell el-'Obeid is more than three hundred miles further south-east, so strikingly alike are some of the specimens from those sites.

The largest mound that we saw that day was Tell Billah, one mile south of Ba'shiqah. I counted 2,300 paces as its circumference, and its greatest elevation is close to 50 feet. To judge from the surface finds, Billah has a record of occupation extending for several millennia. By the side of the painted pottery we found there bits of Islamic ware, while fragments of Sennacherib bricks testified to the importance of the site in Assyrian times. Continuing west from Ba'shiqah we picked up red-painted sherds at Bahzani, one mile to the west, where we also spent the night.

On the morning of the 25th we resumed our journey westwards, visiting two small Assyrian mounds on the way. Towards noon we arrived in the village of Fādhiliyyah, about three miles north-east of Khorsabad.

Tepe Gawra, 'The Great Mound' of the local villagers, known to the Arabic-speaking *Muslawis* (Mosulites) as Tell Ali Beg, lies about one mile and a half south of Fādhiliyyah (Fig. 2). Even at that distance the mound is quite impressive, appearing tall, conical in shape and regular. While sipping the inevitable coffee in the garden of the *mukhtār* (village-head) I made some inquiries about Gawra. All those assembled, which in the case of a visit from a *Frangi* means the entire male population of the place, seemed surprised that anyone could be interested in their mound. The place, they said, was absolutely empty. Two generations ago a certain *Inglizi* had dug there for several days without finding anything worth-while.¹⁸ To be sure, the neighborhood contained *antīqas*, but they had to be looked for elsewhere than on Tepe Gawra. To give point to this statement, the local schoolmaster

region of Fādhiliyyah and Tepe Gawra and differ from the Shebbek mainly in denomination. It may be added that all the above groups speak widely differing languages or dialects, which greatly adds to the confusion.

¹⁸ They were evidently referring to one of the trial digs of Layard. In the N. W. side of the mound a partially filled in hole may still be seen, which is said to represent the spot of that early sounding.

soon produced an inscribed brick which he exhibited with great unction. For a consideration, he stated obligingly, he would tell me where the brick had been found. A glance at the large and crude characters made it plain that the displayed *antiqua* was an ordinary brick of Sargon, which must have come from one of the numerous mounds around Khorsabad. I declined politely to purchase the information offered, explaining that it was the ungrateful task of a *muhandis* (surveyor) to examine many useless ruins instead of concentrating upon sites that might be more profitable. Everything being in the hand of Allah, I concluded, something important might turn up even at their own Tepe Gawra, which would necessitate more extensive explorations on the spot and provide work and *fhūs* (money) for many men of Fādhiliyyah. The usual invocations of blessings and exchange of good wishes followed, and in a few minutes the Ford brought us to the foot of the 'Great Mound.'

Although the preceding day had been full of surprises, Tepe Gawra had many new ones in store for us. In the first place, the mound was found to be one of the tallest in the entire Mosul district, rising 70 feet above the level of the surrounding country. Such height is usually indicative of a comparatively late date; but the surface remains were all against such a conclusion. For the slopes were literally covered with fragments of painted pottery in masses greater than on any other site I had visited. The number of obsidians and flints was correspondingly large. The types of decoration presented also an unusual variety; there were pieces of black-painted pottery together with fragments showing designs in red; apart from the monochrome ware there were numerous examples of polychrome decoration, frequently employed in checker-board designs similar to those found at Jemdet Naşr. Rectilinear motives predominated, but there was also no lack of curvilinear patterns. The paint was applied directly or over a wash.¹⁹ In short, Tepe Gawra seemed to contain a veritable museum collection of well-assorted specimens of early painted pottery.

Very interesting and promising seemed the fact that both the flints and the decorated ware were to be found not only at the base of the Tepe but also fairly high up the slopes. Evidently the prehistoric settlement lasted here for a long time and was preserved in several strata. No trace of Assyrian occupation could be observed, lending color to the belief that even the topmost layers belonged to a rather early age. Another striking feature was the presence on the slopes of Gawra of pieces of baked bricks and of curved wall-nails made of clay, so characteristic of the early deposits in Lower

¹⁹ 'Wash' as opposed to 'slip' is used here in the same sense in which Woolley employs the term 'engobage,' cf. *Al-Ubaid*, p. 163, n. 1.

Mesopotamia (cf. Fig. 79, top). The bricks alone suggested southern influence; good clay, it should be remarked, is as rare in the vicinity of Fādhiliyyah as stone is abundant and easy to procure. On a site so manifestly early as Tepe Gawra the luxury of baked bricks could hardly have been due to a spontaneous innovation; and the presence at that time of Lower-Mesopotamian elements appeared to a high degree remarkable in a place that lies only a few miles away from the foot-hills of the snow-capped Zagros. Nothing save excavations, we felt, would be capable of providing answers to the many intricate questions suggested by the surface examination of the mound. I decided, therefore, that if any funds were left over from the sum which the authorities of Dropsie College had kindly provided for the survey of Northern Iraq, that money should be used for trial excavations on the 'Great Mound.' As it turned out, there was a balance of five hundred dollars at the end of the season's work, making possible a small 'dig' of two weeks' duration at the beginning of the following season.

It was late in the afternoon when the examination of Tepe Gawra was finally completed. Leaving the visit to Khorsabad for a later occasion we turned south-west for Mosul, stopping on the way at Chenchi, whose mound proved to be a smaller replica of Tepe Gawra.

Before passing on to the description of the excavations of the mound which we stumbled upon, as it were, so unexpectedly, this account of early sites in Northern Iraq should be rounded out with a few additional remarks. It has already been shown that the Painted-Pottery Civilization occupied a very extensive area in Upper Mesopotamia.²⁰ We are very far, however, from having covered the whole extent of that civilization. On several subsequent trips mounds were discovered with the same characteristic early remains. Thus e. g., on our way to Aqra,²¹ a beautifully situated mountain-town about 50 miles north-north-east of Mosul, we stopped to examine three mounds close by the road; every one of them (Girda Amian, Tepe Kurabeg, Girda Asin) contained black and red-painted ware as well as occasional flints. The black-painted ceramics of Girda Asin (Kurdish for 'Iron mound'; about 8 miles south of Aqra) was particularly fine. Owing to unsettled political condition it was impossible for me to investigate ancient sites along other routes leading from Mosul northwards. It is very significant, nevertheless, that the only district close to the Turkish border which I visited, had the prehistoric period better represented than any other later age. There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the other border counties also contain similar remains and

²⁰ Painted pottery in Northern Mesopotamia had been formerly observed by Andrae, Chiera, Albright, and Dougherty.

²¹ May 19, 1927.

that the culture which was spoken of above will not be found absent across the northern frontier. This fact should be taken into consideration when the question of the ultimate origin of the painted pottery is discussed.

Decorated ware was also observed on some of the mounds that lie scattered in the large area between Mosul and the Syrian border. On the road from Mosul to Nisibin red-painted pottery was picked up at Tell Awenat,²² about 60 miles north-west of Mosul, and on the twin mounds Gir Dioter, 5 miles further west.²³ North of the Sinjar mountains brown-painted fragments were found at Gir Shenanik, and a large number of obsidian knives was gathered at Goh Bel. Sherds with brown-painted decoration were also found on Tel Hayal, ten miles west of Beled Sinjar. I am not, however, sure that there is any connection between the painted pottery of this section and the ware mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Apart from the fact that black-painted ware is, as far as I have been able to discover, totally absent in these parts, the designs consist usually of circles running around the upper part of the vessel.²⁴ Obsidian implements were found on one mound only (Goh Bel), which curiously enough contained no painted potsherds whatever. No flints were to be seen anywhere. In view of these facts, it is altogether possible that the decorated pottery of the district centering around the Sinjar mountains should be assigned to a different and later source than the painted ware east of Mosul.²⁵ On the other hand it must be admitted that the number of Sinjar mounds examined was comparatively small; a more thorough study may bring to light more definite links with the early cultures of Tepe Gawra and Tell edh-Dhiyāb. At all events, prehistoric ceramics of the previously discussed type reappear further to the west, especially on the Balikh in Northern Syria.²⁶

To sum up, the only section of northern Iraq in which no early painted pottery was found is the district of Sulaimania east of Kirkuk. But even here we cannot vouch for the total absence of a civilization that has left so many distinct traces throughout the rest of the country. The time that I spent in Sulaimania was marked by an uprising of the local Kurds²⁷ and

²² May 9, 1927.

²³ A few miles to the south of the 'Twin Mounds' an irregular elevation was pointed out to us at a distance, with the very remarkable name 'Tel Sumer.' Unfortunately it was impossible to get there at the time.

²⁴ Not unlike the decoration on the cup, Fig. 113.

²⁵ It will be remembered that the Sinjar district lies in what was once the territory of the Mitanni.

²⁶ Albright and Dougherty in the *BASOR*, 21 pp. 12 ff. Cf. also the pottery of Tell Halaf.

²⁷ Cf. *Annual of the ASOR*, VIII, pp. 4 ff.

the number of mounds accessible to me was consequently very limited. To be sure, all of the sites which I examined belonged to a later period than the one in which we are interested at present. But the number of *tells* which I was forced to avoid was quite considerable, and it is thoroughly possible that the painted-pottery period is represented on some of these *tepes* or *girds*.²⁸ Even as far west as the district of Teheran decorated ware has recently been found, some of which is reported to go back to very early times.²⁹ It would be therefore surprising to find a break in that type of pottery of about one hundred and fifty miles, the distance between Kirkuk and the eastern border of Iraq. Be that, however, as it may, we have established an unbroken series of sites containing prehistoric remains, which extends from the Turkish border, north of Mosul, down to the south-east about 50 miles past Kirkuk, without arriving at the terminus at either point. In the uniformity of its civilization as well as in the number and wide distribution of its settlements that early occupation may be considered as the equal, if not as the superior, of any occupation at a subsequent period in the history of that part of the country.

2. ACCOUNT OF THE EXCAVATION

In June, 1927, the survey in which I had been engaged had to be brought to a close on account of the intense heat. As already indicated, I had a modest sum of money left over, which I promptly decided to utilize for the purpose of trial soundings at Tepe Gawra as soon as work could be resumed. The early part of that summer was spent in Persia, and the latter half in Palestine where some preparations were made for the 'dig' under consideration. Dr. C. S. Fisher, the well-known archaeologist attached to the American Schools of Oriental Research, very kindly placed at my disposal several valuable instruments for measurements and drawing. While in Jerusalem I made the acquaintance of Mr. E. Wilenski, an architect, whose enthusiastic interest in things ancient made it possible for him to join my party in spite of the negligible inducements that I had to offer. Although entirely new to archaeology, Mr. Wilenski was to prove an invaluable assistant. He contributed all the plans and the greater part of the drawings presented with this paper,³⁰ and made himself useful, besides, in almost every other phase

²⁸ Turkish 'tepe' and Kurdish 'gird' correspond to Arabic 'tell.'

²⁹ Herzfeld, *Reisebericht* in *ZDMG* 80, p. 232, speaks of large numbers of painted potsherds observed by him at Ray, near Teheran. That ware is compared by Herzfeld, rather generally, with the pottery of Susa, Anau, Samarra, and Tell Halaf, but is said to have continued into far later times than on the above sites.

³⁰ Figs. 71, 74, 97, 98, 100, 120-125 were drawn by Mr. A. D. Medoff of the University

of the work. When our brief venture was over, Mr. Wilenski became the architect of the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition to Nuzi, a post which he has been holding ever since to the great satisfaction of everybody concerned. Through a happy coincidence our party was soon augmented by another valuable member. A short time before we were to start for Mosul we met Professor Chiera and his family on their way to open the work at Nuzi. The trip to Mosul was made together, and while Dr. Chiera was getting things ready at Tarkalan, young William Chiera was to be our recorder and general assistant. We could not have wished for a more intelligent and capable companion.

Mosul was reached on October 4, after a two-days' trip from Aleppo. The usual preparations such as arrangements with the government authorities, negotiations with the owner of the mound,²¹ and the purchase of the necessary tools and provisions, occupied three days. In the meantime Yunis got the everlasting Ford in shape and on the 8th of October we were back in Fādhi-lyyah much to the joy of the local villagers. An old house within sight of the mound was hired for our quarters; Husein, a former *chaush* or sergeant in the Turkish army, was selected as *ra'is* (head-man) of the workmen, and on the following day the digging was begun with an initial gang of 30 men.

As may be gathered from its contours (Fig. 3), Tepe Gawra is a rather steep mound, being considerably tall while not very extensive at the base. On the N. W. the mound originally faced a stream, whose bed lies to-day 2.60 m. below the surface of the surrounding land; here the side is steepest. On the S. E. the rise is more gradual, and it is here that we decided to start our trench. The plan was to begin on level ground, a few meters from the base of the mound, and from there to work our way in successive steps up to the top. The width of the trench was to be 5 meters, and the length to be marked at intervals of also 5 meters, yielding thus regular squares named with the capital letters of the alphabet. Square A ran from markers A-A to B-B, square B extended from B-B to C-C, and so on; the summit of the mound was reached with square X (cf. Fig. 4). In this manner we were enabled, by noting in each instance the given depth, to indicate the exact place in which each object was found or where each bit of masonry was uncovered. We found the stratification usually well marked by ashes, potsherds, or both,

of Pennsylvania School of Architecture. Mr. Medoff also assisted in the arranging of the plates. The photographs given in Figs. 130-135 were kindly made by Mr. R. F. F. Starr, the present Director of the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition to Nuzi. The remaining photographs contained in this paper are the work of Mr. J. Berg of Philadelphia.

²¹ Cf. BASOR, 31 (1928), p. 14.

and could name the layers with successive numbers. Thus e. g., D5 indicates the fifth layer from the top in square D-D to E-E.

a. *Gawra I*

From the first day of work it was apparent that the lower part of the mound had been occupied entirely by the users of painted pottery; moreover, there were several layers in that deposit, which shall be called Gawra I, as distinguished from two other cultures to be referred to as Gawra II and III, respectively. The Period of Painted Pottery proved to extend as high up as square F. The top layer of G introduces us to Gawra II, but from G2 downwards we have again painted ceramics. In the squares from H on we did not dig deep enough to determine there the line of demarcation between Gawra I and II, so that square G must remain for us the upper limit of the painted-ware area. Work on the lower squares continued throughout the course of our excavations, while sections in the two later deposits were being uncovered. As the digging progressed, the number of workmen was gradually increased until we had in the last few days a group of 90 men divided into three gangs. By the end of the dig the gang employed in Gawra I had laid bare seven layers in square F, six in G, five in D and E, and four in B and C. In B we went two meters below our zero level (cf. Fig. 5), but nowhere was virgin soil reached.

The decorated pottery of Gawra I may best be studied from the attached drawings and photographs (Figs. 23-58, 63, 74, 76). Although the evidence of a single trial trench can not be considered as conclusive, it is worthy of notice nevertheless that, within this culture, the painted fragments of the later levels exhibited certain characteristic differences as compared with earlier strata, such as B4 or F5. To take first the later specimens, the clay is either reddish or, more rarely, greenish-grey; the firing is fairly high. Judging from the fragments extant, most of the pottery was hand-made.³² The decoration is either monochrome (red, black, very deep reddish-brown) or polychrome, usually applied over a wash, but without an interposing slip. The style is predominantly geometric, rarely stylized-naturalistic. Of the recognizable types the clearest are ring-base bowls, generally of remarkably thin ware (Figs. 23, 24, 26). Fig. 24 shows part of a red-painted bowl with a fairly well marked belly. Very fine is the bowl reconstructed in Fig. 23, hemispherical with a slightly splayed rim. The paint is black fading into dark brown, on a buff-drab surface; the design represents a series of triangles

³² A small number of fragments (cf. Fig. 45) bore evidence of the *tournette*.

grouped in pairs and touching at their apexes, each "double-axe" separated from the following by several vertical lines. A third type of bowl with a markedly out-turning lip was found in B2. The decoration is polychrome, representing a succession of adjoining geometric figures, each one containing a group of three concentric parallelograms, of which the middle one is black-brown and the others red (cf. Fig. 26). B2 proved generally very interesting. The trench led through a chamber of which one stone wall was still in position (see plan, Fig. 6). The room was paved with small pieces of pottery beaten hard into the ground; on the floor close to the wall lay a terra-cotta figurine of a seated deity (?), probably female (Figs. 65 and 78), with the hands close to the breasts. The head was missing and the break showed the dark reddish clay to be very poorly fired. Near the figurine lay scattered ivory beads, and a little further, on the C boundary, was found a splendidly-finished marble saucer with carinated shoulder (cf. Fig. 79, center, left).³² Numerous fragments of red-painted ware showing a metope arrangement also came up from the floor of B2 (cf. Fig. 36).

It will not be possible to discuss in this account all the fragments shown in the illustrations. The necessary data are given in the attached catalogue, making it possible for us to limit ourselves to a few more important details. Thus, e. g., a fragment from C2 contains the representation of a water-fowl, which reappears in the stratigraphically earlier B4 (Figs. 43 and 44). The paint is in both instances red, and the mode of decoration appears to me stylized-naturalistic. From D2 came several polychrome pieces with checker-board motives (cf. Fig. 76), the color scheme being black-and-brown. Fig. 47 represents a fragment of a plate, painted on both sides. The surface is buff, the paint on the inside black, on the outside black and red.

To an earlier period of Gawra I go back the fragments pictured in Figs. 41, 48-9. The surface is creamy-white, and the design includes rows of birds in flight, very much conventionalized and abstract, to use Frankfort's terminology. The older specimen (Fig. 48, F6) shows fine spacing and the clay is fairly well fired; in Fig. 41 (B-3), on the other hand, the design is crowded and the clay coarse.

An entirely different type is represented by Figs. 45-6, 54. The clay is pinkish, the surface buff, and the paint reddish and sepia, partly faded and washed away. The Maltese cross is particularly interesting. The fragments belong to the earliest strata uncovered by us (B4 and F5). At the same depth were found potsherds that are without a parallel in the later levels. The firing is extraordinarily good, the clay reddish, the surface is orange and

³² The measurements of the saucer are: ht. 35 mm., diam. 65 mm.

the design is painted in sepia. What is most remarkable, however, about this ware is the fact that the paint is *lustrous* and not mat as on all the other specimens. This pottery (cf. Fig. 45) was just beginning to appear in larger quantities as the excavation drew to a close. Obviously it is at least as old as any other type of ceramics from Gawra I, and incomparably finer in appearance and technique than the "Maltese-cross" ware which is nearest to it in date.

Several kinds of handles, usually going with coarser ware (cf. Figs. 60-63), were found in the strata of this period. By the side of the ledge-handle, there is also the lug-handle type, the latter being usually pierced for suspension either horizontally or vertically.

The only unbroken piece of pottery from Gawra I comes from D4 (Figs. 59 and 78). It is a crude little spouted lamp, poorly baked and undecorated. In F2 we came upon a large globular jar, also undecorated, containing children's bones and a few fragments of painted pottery. It was broken into many pieces, but enough was left to enable Mr. Wilenski to make a careful reconstruction (Fig. 64).³⁴

The other finds need not detain us long. B4 yielded another headless human figurine of terra-cotta (Fig. 64^b); animal models of dark-brown clay were not rare (cf. Figs. 66-68). A pottery stand decorated with brown vertical lines (Fig. 74) also deserves mention. Spindle whorls were scattered at all levels (cf. Fig. 106, bottom); it goes without saying that implements of obsidian and flint (Fig. 77) were everywhere in evidence. Among the rarer objects may be listed several decorated clay cones (Fig. 79, top), and a few incomplete mace-heads. A button-seal of sandstone (Fig. 71) was dug up in E-1, while the curious little gable-seal of red marble (Fig. 72, surface find) probably also belongs to this period. With this we may bring to a close the description of objects belonging to the first main civilization of Gawra.

b. Gawra II

With the beginning of G1, and more particularly with square H (opened October 16), we enter an area that differs from the preceding primarily by the absence of painted ceramics. Advancing upwards to the J-J line we find our way barred by a retaining wall of large, roughly-hewn stones (cf. Figs. 4, 5). Across the wall a third civilization ushers in the Bronze Period, represented by the conical addition to the mound (J-N). But this superstructure, grafted on so to speak to the formerly well-rounded top of Gawra,

³⁴ We were rather unfortunate in the photographs taken *in situ*; they were all ruined by an unnoticed leak in the camera.

does not go very deeply into the body of the old elevation; for by slicing off the first few layers across the retaining wall we rejoin the pre-bronze culture of Gawra II, thus gaining for it an area of considerable extent.

In H1 we found remains of a stone wall at the bottom of which lay a partly-crushed jar of reddish clay, with a few charred human bones inside (cf. Fig. 7). The wall led to I1 where unbroken specimens of pottery began to appear in larger numbers. The ware was drab, well-fired and undecorated; most common were flasks, either with ring-stand or flat-base, hand-made and frequently very graceful in shape (Figs. 81-83). A lower level (Fig. 8) contained remains of earlier walls, a stone door-socket in position, and a large grinding stone. We were evidently in an important section of Gawra II; unfortunately, however, the builders of the retaining wall did not allow much of the older material to remain intact.

On crossing into J it was decided to continue the trench to the top of the mound in accordance with our original plan; but it also appeared advisable to follow, at the same time, the course of the impressive retaining wall. Consequently, a second trench was opened, crossing the main shaft at right angles. The division into squares was retained here too, as far as it was possible; to the left (S. W.) of the original ascending trench we uncovered the areas Jb, Jd, and Jf; to the right (N. E.) the areas Ja, Jc, and the group of the slightly irregular rectangles Jghe were laid bare (cf. Figs. 4 and 5).

The decision to dig this horizontal trench was ultimately to prove a very happy one, although the first few hours caused us a great deal of anxiety. In the first place, the massive wall contained breaks on either side of the main trench; more serious, however, was the fact that a member of our small staff became incapacitated for two days as a result of this extension of our activities. While kneeling down to take some measurements at the base of the retaining wall, Mr. Wilenski was bitten by a scorpion of the particularly noxious large yellow type. He was immediately removed to our village quarters, where good use was made of my medicine kit. The secretion is fortunately not as virulent in autumn as it is apt to be in midsummer, and our hard-working architect was soon well again, being none the worse for the temporary pain and the mild scare. But the rest of us had several uneasy hours apart from being deprived for two days of Mr. Wilenski's valuable services.

After the top layer of Jg had been removed a sudden change was observed in the character of the ground. The color of the debris underneath was now reddish instead of the usual black, and the soil was hard-packed and very difficult to dig. Soon fragments of burnt brick began to appear, and before

the day's (October 21) work was done a brick wall of what was apparently a larger structure had been uncovered. From then on until the close of the excavation (October 27) our main efforts were concentrated upon the recovery of that building, which turned out to be the Temple or Shrine of the last representatives of Gawra II. It was not possible, of course, to lay bare the entire structure within a week's time. For as we traced the brick walls we were obliged to dig deeper into the heart of the mound; over the *cella* there were three to four meters of later remains, the removal of which presented considerable difficulties, as both the floors and the walls found in the superimposed layers consisted of large stones (cf. Figs. 12, 13, and 16). In spite of these obstacles enough of the Shrine was dug out to give a fair idea of its ground plan; the incidental finds furnish valuable hints and indications concerning the character of the religious practices of the period.

The Shrine, as was indicated above, was built entirely of burnt brick, the walls reposing directly on the ground without an underlying foundation of stone; the corners were set to the cardinal points. The central part of the Shrine seems to have been a "cult-chamber," 4.5 by 7.5 meters. The entrance was from the S. E. and extended over the entire width of the room; the flanking walls were beveled at the entrance, slanting down with the slope of the mound (cf. Figs. 14 and 16). The chamber opened into three smaller rooms. Opposite the main entrance there was a door 1.30 m. wide which led into the sanctum-sanctorum; near the right- and left-hand corners of the cult-chamber there were two other doors facing one another, 90 cm. in width. The one to the right (N. E.) led to a long and narrow room, probably used for storage, which communicated with the outside by means of another door of similar size, in the S. E. wall. In both cases the stone door sockets were found in position (Fig. 16). We should have liked to open the room to the left of the main chamber, but unfortunately our time was too short for that.

The bricks used in the Shrine were poorly baked and reddish in color, the measurements being 44 by 20 by 10 cm. The mortar was 1.5 cm. between the vertical layers and 2.5 cm. between the horizontal layers. The thickness of the walls, which were plastered with a coating of reddish clay, was almost uniformly 60 cm. Highly instructive is the primitive method of loose bonding employed in this building (cf. Fig. 17); instead of being interconnected, the walls are held together only by the mortar. Individually, however, the walls are solidly built and regular.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the cult-chamber is the terra-cotta elevation in the middle ("altar"), cf. Fig. 16. It is directly in front of the entrance to the *cella*; the height is 40 cm. and the surface 272 by 142 cm.

The characteristic inner frame measures 190 by 92 cm., and the addition at the head is 30 cm. square. To the left stood a clay oven, broken off at the top. Near the main entrance of the chamber lay two coal braziers of porous stone (cf. Fig. 90), one against each wall. To the right of the door leading to the cella was found a heavy stone plate (Fig. 88), and by its side lay the very significant phallic object (Figs. 104-5), also of stone, on which circumcision is unmistakably indicated. Of equal interest is a pair of clay horns (Fig. 89) found at the foot of the door to the left (Fig. 16): the two holes for suspension make it probable that the horns were originally attached to the wall, very likely above the entrance near which they were found. We shall return to these objects in the following chapter. The exact measurements are in each case indicated in the catalogue, which precedes the illustrations.

No objects of any kind were found in the cella (cleared October 25). The floor was covered with a thick layer of fine black ashes and the walls also bore signs of fire. Evidently there had been a considerable amount of wood-work in this room, all of which went up in smoke when the Temple was destroyed. Everything else that was valuable was probably carried off by the enemy, who may very well have been the same people that built the retaining wall and started the third chapter in the history of Gawra. Of course, the Shrine has not been excavated in its entirety, and we do not know that the room may contain whose entrance, as we have seen, was adorned with horns. We are not in ignorance, however, of what was in front of that room. For in *Je*, where the retaining wall meets us again after a break of several meters, we dug to the foundations of that massive structure and found it to rest on the brick wall of the Shrine (this is well illustrated in Fig. 15). Digging further we reached the level of the Shrine floor, at a depth of three meters below the surface (cf. Fig. 5, top). Here on a thick layer of ashes we found in a corner, against the lower part of a brick wall, a mass of knuckle bones. The bricks mark obviously the outside S. W. wall of the long room corresponding to the one which we cleared on the other side of the cult-chamber. In this corner, then, were deposited the remains of animals sacrificed in the cult-chamber and roasted, undoubtedly, in the large oven inside that chamber. In the corresponding corner to the left were found quantities of obsidian cores and flakes, as well as flints with traces of bone encasing, reminding us that we were still in the neolithic period, and that the little Shrine which it was our good fortune to find was as old as any yet discovered in Mesopotamia.

Before we leave the Shrine, attention should be called to a few minor finds that were discovered within its walls. In the left-hand corner of the 'long-room' a storage jar was found imbedded in the ground, its top being even

with the level of the floor (diam. 50 cm., depth 48 cm., cf. Fig. 16). Near the jar lay a fine mace-head of quartz, perfectly preserved (Fig. 94), and barely distinguishable in a handful of clay a miniature 'tear-cup' (ht. 16 mm., diam. 21 mm., cf. Fig. 95). Of importance were several impressions of a stamp-seal scattered on the floor (Fig. 91), probably belonging to some official connected with the Shrine. Where every available scrap of evidence increases substantially our meagre information about this remote and so unusually interesting period, the value of these seal impressions cannot be over-estimated.

So far it has been a simple matter to separate the levels of Gawra II from those of the following civilization. Until the retaining wall is reached in square J, there is no problem whatsoever as nothing below J is in the least suggestive of Gawra III. The same may be said of the Temple area where the intrusion of Gawra III is so clearly marked by the retaining wall breaking through the brick structure of the Shrine (Fig. 15), and where everything below the level of that stone wall becomes automatically part of Gawra II, even if the given object was not discovered in the Shrine itself. The matter becomes, however, rather complicated when we attempt to make the same division in the section which was laid bare by our main trench across the retaining wall; in other words, in some of the squares from J on there may be a reasonable amount of doubt as to whether a given deeper level should be assigned to Gawra II or to Gawra III. This is especially true of K4; for beginning with L none of our shafts was deep enough to get beneath Gawra III. As for K4 the problem is of particular importance in view of the fact that several finds of more than ordinary significance were made at that level. I am referring to a group of toy-sized pottery objects including a 'covered wagon', a 'sedan-chair', and a couch (Figs. 97, 98, 100, 102). The first two are closely related in workmanship; both are decorated, and the well-baked clay is greenish-grey. The decoration, incised and appliqué, is skeuomorphic inasmuch as the designs are in imitation of wicker-work, which must have been much in vogue in the make-up of such objects in actual use. The sedan-chair is undecorated and the clay is in this instance reddish and less well-baked. The two-wheeler type is not uncommon on other sites,³⁵ but the other two specimens are, to my knowledge, unique when all details are taken into consideration. The votive significance of the entire group can scarcely be doubted.

A glance at the plans (Figs. 4 and 5) will make it evident that K4 is

³⁵ Cf. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (1922), pl. 61 c-c, and Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* (1924), pl. VII, 3.

practically two meters higher than the level of the Shrine. Consequently, our first impulse would be to assign the votive pottery objects to Gawra III; and indeed, the foundations of the retaining wall rest on a level that corresponds very closely to the floor of K4. Perhaps this is the only conclusion possible. At the same time it is difficult not to relate the votive vehicles to a few terracotta animal figurines, which are also intended for wheels and which come from I1, hence a typically Gawra II deposit (cf. Figs. 96, 99). Nor need it be a mere coincidence that no trace of copper could be discovered in K4; the vicinity of the Shrine might, moreover, help explain the heaping up of objects of a cultural nature in our lowest stratum of K. Personally, I find it difficult to decide in this case between Gawra II and Gawra III, and shall content myself, therefore, with the above presentation of the available facts. At all events we are here on the boundary of the Bronze-Age period and are prepared for the necessarily limited account of the results obtained in the upper squares of our trial trench.

c. Gawra III

In connection with the description of the Shrine deposit mention was made that J1 marks the beginning of a new civilization, and that a retaining wall, which passes through J and which presumably encircled the entire upper part of the mound, forms the boundary between the two periods. The finds, too, afford a welcome criterion with the aid of which remains of Gawra II may be clearly distinguished from those of the succeeding age. For the one thing that the first two main cultures of Gawra had in common was the exclusive use of neolithic implements and the total absence of any kind of metal. With Gawra III, on the other hand, we enter the Bronze Age and stone artifacts are generally discarded. This fact was impressed upon us within the first hour after our workmen had begun digging inside the stone enclosure. At the depth of 30 cm. one of the pick-men discovered the fine cylinder-seal representing Ea with the two streams (Fig. 127) while, almost simultaneously, another workman brought up from an adjoining section of J1 a copper hook (cf. Fig. 134), the first bit of metal that Gawra had yielded until that time. Nor was this an isolated find. Before the day (October 18) was over our recorder had a well-sized collection of copper objects to mark and catalogue. Most of those had been found in a large jar (Fig. 112) which enthusiastic Chiera, Jr., insisted on naming 'The Treasure Pot', and not without reason. For its contents represented a modest museum collection: Three splendidly executed and excellently preserved axe-heads (Fig. 135), a sickle (Fig. 132), a miniature pick-head evidently for delicate artistic work

(Fig. 131), a snake anklet, and a number of smaller pieces such as hooks, needles, and spatulae (cf. Fig. 134) were all found crowded in the jar, partly covered by a few handfuls of fine brown earth. At the bottom of the jar, as if for the sake of varying the collection, lay a long bead of carnelian and two cylinder-seals of black diorite. One of the seals (Fig. 126) is concave in shape, and the archaic design represents an adoration scene. The other is a splendid specimen of a Gilgamesh *motif* (Fig. 128). On the floor near the 'treasure-pot' lay a spear-head with two nails to hold the wooden handle still in their original position (Fig. 131). The object had obviously been too large to be placed inside the jar. Other squares, too, produced a number of interesting copper objects, notably a snake (Fig. 133), and a small forceps with the temper still in force (Fig. 130). But the highly productive J1 had not run dry yet. At the same level as the jar, but in another room (right-hand corner of the square, cf. Fig. 4), were found numerous beads of carnelian, lapis-lazuli, rock crystal and agate (cf. Fig. 79, bottom). Nor must we forget the pottery. Besides the well-fired 'treasure-pot', which incidentally is the only vessel with a *slip* (red) found on Gawra, J1 yielded several unbroken jars and bowls (cf. Figs. 107, 109-111, 114, 116, 129). Especially graceful is a vase with carinated rim (Fig. 114), rendered partly black by fire. All the pottery of this period is wheel-made and the clay is greenish-grey. Other objects of baked clay found at the J level include an incomplete tripod plate (Fig. 119), two bowls of thin ware (Figs. 115 and 118; Jf and Ja), a head of a snake (Fig. 124), a scaraboid seal (Fig. 123), an interesting mould with perforated handle (Fig. 125), spools, wheels, and the like. Broken sherds were being brought up in hundreds; on a few of them incised decoration representing fish could be observed (Fig. 106, top, right-hand corner).

A considerable number of larger storage jars were also dug up, both complete and partly broken (for reconstructions cf. Figs. 19-22). The most remarkable group of such vessels was unearthed in the lower left-hand corner of L3, hence at a level succeeding that of J1. Just before noon on October 20, I was taking notes in F5, where the orange-and-sepia ware had been discovered, when the foreman Husein came rushing down from the upper part of the trench announcing that a knife-man had found "something big", while clearing a corner in an upper square. The "something big" turned out to be the bulging-out belly of a large pot; the man was following his instructions and would not touch any object without the supervision of one of the *sahibs*. The vessel seemed to be of the ordinary type; I was about to lift it and take its measurements,³⁰ anxious to return to the painted pottery,

³⁰ Mr. Wilenski was in bed nursing his scorpion-bite.

when the digger's knife struck another vessel close by the first. While the workmen were taking their mid-day rest Husein and I remained in the trench to remove the jars. The matter became more complicated when a third and then a fourth pot were noticed before the others could be taken out. At



length enough of the dirt was removed to enable us to lift the first two jars, both of which were turned upside down. There was nothing unusual about the one which had originally attracted our attention. But the removal of the second presented great difficulties; an additional piece of pottery seemed to be attached to or fused with the jar and it was not until the pause for the afternoon prayer that this object, too, was lifted from the ground. Then, on the removal of some clay that stuck to the outside walls, a very striking specimen was revealed to us. The jar represents a complicated and highly-ingenuous contrivance. The most suitable name for it is perhaps 'Fountain-Head Vessel'.³⁷ Made of reddish clay, well-baked and smoothed over with a wash, it is 34 cm. in height and 35 cm. in diameter (Fig. 80). Above a tubular rim rises a funnel-shaped saucer. The water admitted through that funnel spreads in the rim and emerges from the widely-open mouth of a well-shaped ram's head, which faces the saucer. The neck curves in slightly, but the shoulder continues independently to an added height of 3.5 cm., so that a channel, open at the top and sharply pointed at the base, is formed between the neck and the extension of the shoulder. Midway between the rim and the groove eight ducks are fastened to the neck. Now after the stream that comes down from the ram's head has filled the vessel, the water overflows to be caught in the channel underneath, while the ducks appear bathing under the little cascade. The channel opens into a small spout placed 12.5 cm. under the opening of the funnel, and the stream thus comes out directly under the spot where it was first admitted. Running water is doubtless presupposed so that the flow might remain uninterrupted. Both the arrangement and the

³⁷ In earlier general accounts of the excavations (*JQR*, XIX, 1929, pp. 345-354), written before the material could be carefully reexamined, it was stated erroneously that the vessel belonged to Gawra II.

lines of this striking piece of pottery suggest a model of stone, or perhaps of bronze.

We were fortunate enough to discover remains of the system that regulated the water-supply of that stratum and made the luxury of the 'fountain-head' possible. In M4, a level that is the direct continuation of L3 (cf. Fig. 5), we found two brick conduits meeting at right angles with a removable limestone cover at the joining point (for plan and section cf. Fig. 18). Several large jars were found in the immediate neighborhood of these water-channels (cf. Figs. 21-2); together with the above-mentioned group from L3 this pottery forms a collection of considerable proportions, but the nearness of water easily accounts for its occurrence in that particular section.

Extensive remains of buildings, all of roughly hewn stone, were unearthed at various levels of Gawra III. Best represented in this respect is the J stratum, due mainly to the fact that our horizontal trench was started at this height, giving us an area of seven squares from which this level could be studied. The people who destroyed the Shrine and entrenched themselves behind the retaining wall left us a series of small rectangular rooms, which possibly formed part of their fortress (Fig. 4). The irregular wall that comes in at an oblique angle between the two walls of Je is obviously a later addition. From K to N we encountered a greatly confusing succession of floors and walls; J was followed by several strata, each adding to the height of the mound and, at the same time, curtailing the inhabitable area at the top (cf. Figs. 9 and 10). Our trench had very little information to offer concerning this latest period in the history of Gawra. The only positive results came from the stratum represented by L3, M4, and Jgh2 (cf. Fig. 13), with its 'fountain-head' vessel and its water conduits. The topmost sections were practically devoid of objects of any kind, the masonry having crowded out everything else. Worthy of notice are a long-necked terra-cotta animal (L2, Fig. 117) and a cup narrowing down at the bottom to a small ring-base, its neck decorated with two red-painted circles (cf. Fig. 113). A few inches under the summit of the mound two Moslem burials were uncovered (Fig. 11); except for those nothing else was found to bridge the very wide gap between the latest occupation level at Gawra and our own times.

On October 27 our work was brought to a close. The next day was one of festivities for Fādhiliyyah. The governor (*mutasarrif*) of Mosul came to view the results in the company of the Political Administrator. They were soon joined by Mr. R. S. Cooke, the ever helpful Honorary Director of Antiquities, who, accompanied by Mrs. Cooke, had come all the way from Baghdad to attend the division of antiquities. The 'fountain-head' vessel was quite rightly claimed for Iraq as a unique object, but we were allowed to retain a

large share of the remaining finds. Before the division was completed several cars had brought other visitors from Mosul. After a tour of the trenches the entire company sat down to an outdoor meal, served in a near-by garden, to which all the workmen were invited.²⁸ These kind and simple people had contributed largely to the success and the enjoyment of our work, through their willingness and constant good humor. They had proved honest, faithful, and intelligent in applying themselves to new tasks. The scientific results of the short campaign, especially the clear stratigraphic evidence of three distinct and unrelated cultures at the very beginning of Mesopotamian history, had exceeded our fondest expectations. It was therefore a pardonable extravagance, we felt, to have a day of festivities and ease at the close of the excavation; the pleasure of that occasion being tempered only by the regret that we were obliged to leave those hospitable surroundings so soon.

3. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapter was devoted to a resumé of the archaeological results obtained in course of the trial excavations at Tepe Gawra. Although it was not possible, for lack of space, to describe all the finds in detail, nothing was omitted from the account that was thought to have a bearing upon the character of the ancient inhabitants of Gawra or upon the nature of their several civilizations. My present task is briefly to reexamine these scattered data with a view to setting up a relative chronology for the main periods of the mound, and to relate, if possible, the authors of each of those cultures to some known ethnic group.

Gawra I. To sum up first the facts relating to Gawra I, the lower third of the site goes back to a neolithic people who remained there for a period long enough to account for at least seven observable occupation levels. Painted ceramics were the most characteristic product of that civilization; in the lowest strata the decoration is reddish-and-sepia on a buff surface, or else sepia-on-orange applied in a lustrous paint. The polychrome ware continues into later periods, but monochrome red or black-painted pottery gradually becomes the fashion. The geometric style of design is occasionally relieved by naturalistic, or more exactly stylized-naturalistic, motives. With regard

²⁸ I do not know of any group in Iraq whose standard of living is lower than that of the poor and much abused Bazhwan. Their food consists almost exclusively of flaps of barley-bread and of water. Meat, and even eggs and milk, are for months absent from their diet. Small wonder, then, that the mortality among them is appallingly high.

to shapes, open hemispherical bowls seem to have been most common, at least in the later strata of this period. For the earlier levels shallow plates and straight-sided tumblers may be assumed on the basis of a few fragments which fortunately make it possible to reconstruct the original shapes without too much uncertainty.³⁹

As stated above, the two problems before us are those of date and of ethnic affiliations. We have seen that the painted ware of Gawra I goes together with implements of flint and obsidian. Moreover, the advent of metal is delayed also throughout the succeeding civilization, and it is not until we reach Gawra III that the first signs of copper come to light. Of the definitely neolithic character of Gawra I there cannot, therefore, be the least doubt. But the question of *absolute date* still remains unanswered. To settle it, even approximately, an attempt must be made to find for the painted pottery of Gawra a place among the several groups of early ceramics mentioned in the introductory part of this paper.

The fact that a chain of sites yielding painted ware has been traced from the Balkans to Manchuria is not in itself conclusive of the essential relationship between the individual links; the presence of geometric elements in the decoration of all the groups of that pottery fails to give sufficient force to the argument from continuity along such an extended course. Far-reaching conclusions concerning ethnic affiliations, whose sole support is derived from these striking but meagre facts, will be no less fantastic because so exceedingly alluring. For practical purposes, decorated Aegean pottery of the second millennium B. C. cannot be brought into a closer relationship with the prehistoric ware of Elam or Mesopotamia than, say, the painted ware of the American Indians. In order to bring the subject within the range of a scientific investigation it is imperative to narrow down the field in time as well as in space. This will limit us to the mounds with aeneolithic remains grouped around the head of the Persian Gulf, the early sites of Northern Mesopotamia previously described, and the districts further to the North; connection with the latter was indicated by the mounds between Mosul and Aqra described above, and positive evidence for such intercourse will be adduced in course of the following discussion.

To begin the comparison with Southern Mesopotamia, a glance at the plates showing painted sherds from Tell el-'Obeid will immediately suggest a certain degree of relationship between that ware and a part of the painted pottery of Tepe Gawra.⁴⁰ There is in the first place much similarity in design; on both sites we have the same predominance of the lattice motives, the same use

³⁹ Cf. Figs. 47 and 50.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Al-Ubaid*, pl. XVI-XIX.

of hatched bands of zigzags (Fig. 34; TO 2027, pl. XVIII), the identical representation of rows of birds in flight (Figs. 41, 48; TO 1548, pl. XVIII).⁴¹ Further examination will reveal that where the decoration is analogous the ware is also generally similar; fine, greenish-grey clay, hard and fired at a high temperature. The paint is in most instances under consideration black, sometimes with a tinge of dark green. Equally close is the correspondence in shapes; the preference for the open, nearly hemispherical bowls, often with ring-stand, is characteristic of both sites (cf. Figs. 23, 24, 26-7, 30 and TO pl. L-LI; cf. also Fig. 59 with 'Type VI' of el-'Obeid). The decorated pottery of Bender Bushire, which is commonly agreed to be identical with that of the Ur area, furnishes another source for comparison with the ware of Gawra I, which it is needless to utilize at present.⁴²

Another Mesopotamian site productive of decorated ware of a very early date is that of Jemdet Nasr, not far from Kish. With the el-'Obeid pottery the former has, however, little in common, being chiefly characterized by polychrome decoration and by the extensive application of the checker-board design. It is, therefore, all the more interesting that a group of fragments from Gawra shows marked similarities to the pottery of Jemdet Nasr (cf. Fig. 16, middle row). I should indicate here that I have no reproductions of the Kish ware at hand, and that the above remarks are based on what recollection I have of the specimens from Jemdet Nasr now displayed in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.

Concerning the ceramics from Musyan it will be sufficient for our purposes to state that while there are no thoroughgoing resemblances between that ware and the pottery from el-'Obeid, the two groups (of the Musyan fabrics only the so-called "*poterie épaisse*" need at all be considered in this connection) share nevertheless a number of decoration motives; the Musyan shapes, such as can be reconstructed from the extant fragments, also show similarities to the types occurring on Lower Mesopotamian sites. The same degree of relationship may be said to exist between Musyan and Gawra. Of the motives common to both I shall only mention the combination of "double-axe" triangles with fields of lattice patterns (cf. Fig. 30; *Mém.* VIII, Fig. 155).⁴³

Lastly we come to the much-discussed pottery of Susa proper, a ware that is better known, is more thoroughly classified, and at the same time has been

⁴¹ Cf. also *Mém.*, VIII, p. 94, Fig. 135. TO is the author's abbreviation for Tell Obeid.

⁴² Cf. Frankfort, *Studies*, I, p. 57.

⁴³ Cf. also *Mém.*, VIII, pl. VII. The analogy, however, is very incomplete as in the Ali Abad specimen we have a large storage jar, whereas in our Fig. 23 it is only a small open bowl that is similarly ornamented.

provocative of more controversies than all the other groups of early ceramics. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the relative merits of the two opposing schools, one of which claims that the two generally recognized civilizations of oldest Susa are interrelated, while the other insists that there is no connection whatever between Susa II as compared with the earlier and unquestionably more beautiful style of Susa I.⁴⁴ Our immediate interest is to determine whether the painted pottery of Gawra has anything in common with that of the old Elamite capital. The answer will be simplified if it is remembered that the principal difference between the two styles of Susa may be summed up by saying that Susa II is frankly naturalistic while Susa I is either purely geometric or else geometric combined with a stylized or abstract naturalism. As regards Gawra I, we have seen that at all levels the style was almost exclusively geometric, rectilinear designs by the side of the less common curvilinear ones. Motives like rows of birds in flight have come down conventionalized almost beyond recognition; in the more obviously naturalistic representations such as the water-fowls (Figs. 43-4) and leaves (Fig. 55) the underlying attitude appears to be stylizing.⁴⁵ At all events, the number of specimens of the latter type is very limited, so that we do not have a well represented group to set up as parallel to Susa II. Superficially, at least the analogies of Gawra are with Susa I.

I do not wish to imply that there is actual relationship between the early levels of the two sites. For one, the material from Gawra is much too scanty to justify definite statements in this respect. At best we can infer certain parallel developments. I have pointed out above that in the deepest levels of our mound a type of pottery came to light that was decorated with lustrous paint, the color scheme being *dark on light*. The fragment of that ware, which is pictured here, can hardly be anything else than part of a tumbler (Fig. 50). Now all these characteristics are found in the pottery from early Susa I: tumbler shape, decorated in shining black on a light background.⁴⁶ These striking similarities make it all the more regrettable that we were obliged to bring the Gawra excavations to a close at the very time that the lustrous ware was beginning to appear in greater quantities. For it is not unlikely that the lower deposits might have given up more convincing evidence of closer relationship with Susa I.

⁴⁴ For literature cf. note 6. See also Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, I (1927), p. 414.

⁴⁵ Originally I thought of comparing those specimens with fragments from Susa II, but closer study makes such a combination highly precarious.

⁴⁶ Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 77. The use of the *tournette* in both instances may also be mentioned.

Again, the latest strata of Susa I are not without parallel at Gawra. Mr. Frankfort has shown that the few specimens of red ware found in the necropolis of Susa must be assigned to the latest deposit of the first civilization. Of particular interest is the sherd with the "double-axe" ornament (Frankfort *Studies*, I, pl. III.5) because it points, in conjunction with telling details of technique, to north-eastern influences, as a vessel found in the neighborhood of Mount Ararat (*ibid.*, pl. V.1) exhibits the same characteristic features. As far as the design is concerned, we may compare with the above the "double-axe" fragment from the top layer of Gawra I (Fig. 23); the reddish clay, too, is common to all three pieces. On the other hand there are important differences. The Gawra fragment has no slip, is very much neater in appearance, has no curvilinear lines, and forms part of a hemispherical bowl. Besides, the "double-axe" alone cannot serve as a criterion of relationship; the same motive is found, e. g., on a polychrome storage-jar from Tepe Ali Abad, near Musyan (*Mém.* VIII, pl. VII).⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the suggestion of contacts with the north is worth following up. Just as our horizontally pierced lug-handles (Figs. 62-63) remind us of Southern Mesopotamia and Susa, so does the vertically perforated lug (Fig. 61) point to Anatolia. In the same quarter we find analoga to our red-painted pottery with a metope arrangement in the decoration (Fig. 36; Genouillac, *Céramique Cappadocienne* II, 138) as well as the three-color ornament.⁴⁸ The same is true of our gable-seal if we are right in assigning it to Gawra I (Fig. 72; Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, p. 18). We have seen already that the number of sites containing prehistoric pottery does not diminish as we advance from Mosul towards the Turkish border.

The remarkable result of the preceding investigation has been the establishment of the fact that the painted pottery of Gawra has elements in common not only with the decorated ware of Southern Mesopotamia but also with the ceramics of Susa I and of Anatolia. Was this due to the eclectic tendencies of the early Gawrans? No one would seriously consider such a theory. The alternative assumption, however, is quite plausible: all the above groups drew from a common source. The proto-Elamites proceeded to develop a type of their own which they carried to an astoundingly high degree of perfection; the early inhabitants of the region around the head of the Persian Gulf specialized in a different direction, by carrying further the technique of firing and the development of shapes. At Gawra we still see the several types evolved in the original center. This would indicate that the generating source

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴⁸ Not to speak of examples from Susa I; cf. *Mém.*, XIII, pl. VII, 3, 4; pl. VIII, 1, pl. IX, 2.

was comparatively near. Tepe Gawra lies at the foothills of the Armenian mountains: it seems unavoidable to look for the fountain head of the painted pottery culture in the highlands of Eastern Asia Minor or, preferably, in Armenia. From there the pottery could have easily spread in all directions, covering ultimately the vast area in which we find it distributed subsequently; and it is in that neighborhood that this fabric lingered on long after it had given way to other types in Mesopotamia and in Elam. If we accept the theory of Frankfort that the pottery of Susa I gradually spread westwards to reappear in local guise both at Musyan and in Southern Mesopotamia,⁴⁹ we shall be at a loss to explain the occurrence of the "el-'Obeid" ware as far north as Gawra.⁵⁰ Mr. Woolley's suggestion that the decorated ware of Southern Mesopotamia is older than that of Susa explains even less than the Elamite theory.⁵¹ I am well aware that the evidence for a highland hypothesis is not abundant enough to be entirely convincing.⁵² But it appears to me to account for the greatest number of problems arising from the study of the interrelated phenomena cited in this connection.

Concerning the people who originated the painted ornamentation with which we have been dealing, we are left entirely to conjectures. The theories that have been proposed would ascribe the first style of Susa, and its congeners,⁵³ to Elamites,⁵⁴ or to the Sumerians;⁵⁵ the origin and dissemination of the pottery grouped under "Susa II" have been attributed, on the other

⁴⁹ Woolley, *Al-Ubaid* 167, notes the connection between Musyan, Kish, and Eastern Anatolia. With the concentric circle in the decoration of the Musyan ware may be compared a fragment from Gawra with concentric ellipses (now at the Dropsie College).

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁵¹ As we have seen (cf. note 47) Frankfort assumes that a northern influence was at work in late Susa I. Is it not likely that we have here merely a repetition of an older process? The fact that painted pottery survived so much longer in Eastern Anatolia than in Mesopotamia and in Elam is also worth considering.

⁵² Cf. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 9.

⁵³ That we have here to deal with a mountain civilization is recognized by Woolley, *Al-Ubaid*, 170.

⁵⁴ Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁵⁵ Hall and Woolley, *Al-Ubaid*, 9, against Thompson who considers the ware 'pre-Sumerian.' Woolley has since changed his position, and attributes now the painted pottery to Akkadians, cf. *The Sumerians*, p. 12. The Akkadians are identified by Woolley with the Martu, "known later as the Amurru," "who for all that their speech in historic times was Semitic, must have been of Asia Minor stock . . ." This is a flagrant instance of begging the question. What is evident from these speculations is Woolley's desire to place the origin of the painted pottery in the North, the same thing that is advocated in these pages without, as I believe, resorting to a *tour de force*.

band, to 'Semites,'⁵⁶ and to Aryans (Indo-Iranians).⁵⁷ Since we are primarily interested in the earlier ware we shall first take up the former set of suggestions. When they emerge into the light of history the Elamites and the Sumerians are both dwellers of the plain; and if our highland hypothesis of the origin of the prehistoric painted ceramics is correct, both must either be ruled out of this discussion, or else considered as invaders from the sub-Caucasian districts. In the case of the Sumerians this is not *a priori* impossible; in fact an assumption of this kind would fit in very well with the theory of the Caucasian origin of the Sumerian language.⁵⁸ But there is no conclusive evidence that the Sumerian ever used painted ware to any appreciable extent.⁵⁹ And as for Elam, that country is too far out of the way to account for the spread of the fabric under discussion. The one remaining possibility is to connect that ware with the original population of the whole Zagros range. The philological evidence of the proper names of proto-Hittite Anatolia, early Armenia, Kurdistan, and very likely Elam itself, scanty and insufficiently evaluated though it still is, lends color to the supposition that the wide belt which takes in those districts was occupied from earliest times by an ultimately related group, which the anthropologists would call "Armenoid" or "Anatolian," and the philologists "Caucasian."⁶⁰ The area covered by that linguistic evidence corresponds so closely to the sphere of distribution of the geometric and stylized fabrics that we are justified in combining here the evidence of archaeology and of philology, and

⁵⁶ Frankfort, especially in his latest summary appearing in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, VIII, pp. 217 ff. This publication reached me too late to be utilized more extensively.

⁵⁷ V. Christian, "Das erste Auftreten der Indogermanen in Vorderasien," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, LVII, pp. 210 ff.

⁵⁸ Professor Langdon assumes also a racial relationship between the Sumerians and the "Armenoids," cf. *Excavations at Kish*, 64. His arguments, however, are far from convincing. On the basis of a study of eight defective crania found at Kish (only two were "fairly complete") Mr. Buxton states that "the 'Armenoid' people were almost certainly the original population of the River Land" (*ibid.*, p. 124). But that does not say that those 'original inhabitants' were Sumerians. I have suggested (see below) that the people who introduced the painted ware into the land were its first inhabitants and that they probably belonged to the group which may be called 'Armenoid.' The measurements of Mr. Buxton agree admirably with this theory. The Sumerians, on the other hand, are later arrivals and have little to do with the painted pottery.

⁵⁹ This is now generally recognized, cf. note 55. It must be remembered, however, that the philological evidence is of later date than the painted pottery. The latter antedates, of course, the inscriptional sources.

⁶⁰ Cf. the article on "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East," *Annual of the ASOR*, VI, 75 ff. To the literature contained there, should be added: Contenau, "Les Tablettes de Kerkouk," *Babyloniaca*, ix, fasc. 2-4.

in postulating as a result an originally uniform "Zagros" or "Caucasian" group, to which the introduction of that remarkable pottery may now be attributed.⁶¹

As regards the later ware of the "Susā II" type, both the Semitic and Aryan theories of its origin are indirectly due to the fact that there are indisputable connections between the pottery of the second style of Susā and that of Palestine in the "Middle Bronze" period. The Aryan hypothesis of Prof. Christian is very interesting, but his chain of evidence contains too many serious gaps.⁶² The arguments that have prompted P. Vincent and Mr. Frankfort to suggest the Semitic theory,⁶³ carry more conviction. The chief objection to this view is, as far as I can see, the total absence of any demonstrably 'Semitic' elements in Elam, assuming that it is quite unassailable to place in Northern Syria a powerful Semitic center of distribution whose influence is felt in Egypt, Cyprus, and Cappadocia, apart from Mesopotamia and Elam. It has been shown elsewhere that all the above-mentioned countries are practically coextensive with the sphere of influence which has been defined as Hurrian;⁶⁴ it is to the early Hurrians, therefore, that I should like to ascribe the spread of the fabric related to the ware of Susā II.⁶⁵ If this is true we would have here a clue to the relationship of the two civilizations of Susā. For the Hurrians are "Caucasian" with even greater probability than the earlier Zagros groups. The naturalistic style would in that case go back to a later wave originating in the same source from which the earlier style was derived. The early factors in the history of the Near East appear from this point of view in a new and powerful light illuminating a number of uncommonly fascinating vistas. So beguiling indeed are the possibilities which present themselves here that their very alluringness calls for great caution in operating with them. We can only hope for more information on the subject, so that established facts may be substituted for the present working hypotheses, which interesting and helpful though they may be, still carry a suggestion of trouble in their uncertainty.

⁶¹ Cf. note 58.

⁶² To use the people of Gutium as the connecting link (*loc. cit.*, p. 222 f.) in spite of the thoroughly non-Aryan character of their proper names is again begging the question.

⁶³ *Syria* V, 315, Frankfort, *Studies* I, 70 ff., II, 167, and n. 60.

⁶⁴ Cf. note 60. Conclusive evidence of the presence of Hurrians in Palestine may be gathered from the large percentage of Hurrian proper names in the cuneiform material from Tell Ta'anek, Palestine. Cf. A. Gustavs, "Die Personennamen von Tell Ta'anek," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vs. 50-51.

⁶⁵ The later spread of the 'Hurrian' glyptic art of Kirkuk is a very welcome supporting argument.

To return after this lengthy digression to Gawra I, the question of date still remains to be settled. This can best be done in connection with the finds from Ur and el-'Obeid. The early graves of Ur, which are separated from the deposits of the First Dynasty by a sufficiently deep layer to be placed at about 3500 B. C.,⁶⁶ are yet considerably later than the painted pottery of that area. From public lectures by Mr. Woolley I gather that the silt between those graves and the top layer of painted potsherds is at Ur eight meters thick. Consequently, a round date of 4000 B. C. cannot be too early for that decorated ware. At Gawra we have el-'Obeid pottery in the later strata of the first civilization, so that the date of Gawra I is at least as early as that of the prehistoric pottery of Southern Mesopotamia. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Babylonia is so much further from the assumed center of distribution than the district north of Mosul. The only other find from Gawra I that may be used to determine its date is the little button-seal pictured in Fig. 71. A practically identical seal is given by Professor Legrain in his book on the *Culture of the Babylonians*, pl. LI.2. The author lists it among the very earliest finds from Southern Babylonia.

Gawra II. In their value as an added source for the early history of Mesopotamia the finds from Gawra II do not yield in importance to those of the preceding period. Most significant is perhaps the fact that the people who supplanted the neolithic inhabitants of Gawra I seem to have been equally unacquainted with the use of metal. On this point the evidence from our excavation is clear and unambiguous. The extensive area that was uncovered in the Shrine precincts yielded a considerable collection of obsidian cores and a fair number of flints, but of copper there was not the slightest trace to be found. Evidently, then, the second civilization of Gawra was still anterior to the Bronze Age, though it must be admitted that the introduction of metal into Northern Mesopotamia need not have been contemporaneous with the beginning of the Bronze Period in the region around the Persian Gulf. However, the seal impression found in the Shrine (Fig. 91) points to a very early date. Stamp-seals similarly arranged (a canine over an ibex and an antelope) certainly go back into the fourth millennium.

In order to glean what information we can about the people of this period it will be best to concentrate our inquiry upon the Shrine. It has been pointed out that the use of brick in a rocky district can have been due at that remote date only to the archaizing attitude that is customary in matters connected with religion. In other words, in building their Temple of

⁶⁶ Cf. the exhaustive treatment of the subject by Gadd in *Al-'Ubeid*, p. 140; also Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 9.

burnt brick the people of Gawra II were merely following the customs of their ancestors, in whose country stone was either rare or non-existent. Now these conditions obtain primarily in the alluvial plain of Southern Mesopotamia. Other indications also point in the same direction. The failure to use stone foundations for brick structures, as is the case with our Shrine, has been characterized as typically 'Babylonian.'⁶⁷ Further, there are interesting correspondences between the shapes of vessels from Gawra II and from early deposits in the South.⁶⁸ We must conclude, therefore, that the invaders who drove out the makers of painted pottery came from the lower part of the valley of the Two Rivers.

In all other respects the connections of Gawra II with the outside are a matter of more or less uncertainty. No exact parallel can be found to the groundplan of the Shrine, judging from the part laid bare. The arrangement whereby the sanctum sanctorum is placed against the narrower wall of the Temple may be termed 'Assyrian.'⁶⁹ But in our case the cella faces the main entrance and that is not true of the archaic temples of Ashur. On the other hand, the elevation of terra-cotta found in the cult chamber of the Shrine may be compared with a similar podium discovered by Dr. Andrae in the G Temple of his Ishtar structures in Ashur.⁷⁰ There seem to be some similarities and there are also differences between Gawra II and the lower strata of Qal'at Sherqat. The relationship between the two could not have been very close. The disparity in time may perhaps account partly for the differences. The H and G strata of Ashur belong to the Early Bronze Age while Gawra II is earlier, as we have seen. However, since too much recourse must be had here to guesses, we had better wait for more material on this subject.

Of the objects found in the Shrine the most characteristic are undoubtedly the horns and the phallic piece (Figs. 89, 104-5). Both are, so far, unique in Mesopotamia. With regard to the former, I can only think of 'the horns of consecration' from Crete as a parallel,⁷¹ and that cannot help us very much

⁶⁷ Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel*, p. 28.

⁶⁸ Cf. *c. g.*, the stone plate from the Shrine (Fig. 88) with the al-Ubaid type XXVIII (pl. LXII), which occurs according to Woolley (*ibid.*, p. 183) in conjunction with types from early graves. A close parallel in *shape* may be pointed out between the coal-brazier from the Shrine (Fig. 90) and the Susian specimen given in *Mém.*, XIII, pl. XII, 1.

⁶⁹ Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

⁷¹ Cf. especially *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), pp. 135 ff. It is not necessary to go at present into the possible connection of such horns with the Biblical 'horns of the altar.'

at present. The significant thing about the phallic object is its distinct imitation of circumcision. That circumcision was practiced by Egyptians and Western Semites is a well known fact. In Babylonia this practice does not appear to have been in vogue.⁷² We are thus confronted with the difficult task of determining the identity of a people that came into the valley of the Khosr from the South prior to the introduction of metal, and who brought with it the non-Babylonian custom of circumcision. Tentatively this problem may be solved as follows: the invaders in question were 'Semites,' who had left the southern lowlands before the arrival of the Sumerians and the consequent spread of the use of copper. Those early conquerors of Northern Mesopotamia circumcised their males in common with other members of the large group of peoples speaking Semitic languages. To the Sumerians circumcision was foreign; in this respect they influenced the Babylonian Semites, or Akkadians, whose religion in general they affected to a pronounced degree. According to this view the Semites preceded the Sumerians in Babylonia. It is perhaps needless to add that the above theory is suggested with all the reservations appropriate to the paucity of sources from which it has been pieced together.

Gawra III. With Gawra III we enter more familiar territory and the period can be dismissed with a few remarks. For the first time we face here a people in whose description we can go further than mere conjectures. With the Early Bronze Age we pass into 'historical' times. The date of the period may best be gathered from the cylinder-seals found in this deposit (Figs. 126-8). Both the shape (two of the seals are concave) and the contents of the cylinders cause us to place them in what Professor Legrain calls the Early Sumerian and Sumero-Akkadian periods.⁷³ The copper objects resemble closely the corresponding specimens from Ur and el-'Obeid, dated in the First Dynasty of Ur, so that we may place the beginning of Gawra III at about the turn of the fourth millennium (3250-2750 B. C.). The 'fountain-head' vessel belongs to a later stratum and the cup given in Fig. 113 probably brings us close to the second millennium. The people who, with the aid of their novel metal implements, destroyed the Shrine settlement and built the powerful retaining wall were, then, Sumero-Akkadians of pre-Sargonide days. It is worth noting that Dr. Andrae places the destruction of his G stratum at Ashur in the early Sargonide times.⁷⁴ It would be tempting

⁷² Cf. Ebeling in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, I, p. 446 a. The Mesopotamian sculptures are in this respect non-committal, but the absence of circumcision may be inferred from the passages in which the 'foreskins' are mentioned.

⁷³ *Culture of the Babylonians*, p. 11 ff.

⁷⁴ *Op cit.*, p. 118.

to compare the proto-Assyrians of the H and G strata with the people of Gawra II. But in the first place, the Shrine period had no metal while early Ashur was copper-using; moreover the Ishtar Temple of the G stratum differs considerably from the Temple at Gawra. Consequently it is necessary to synchronize the builders of the first two archaic Ishtar Temples with the people of the lowest layer in Gawra III. Actual relationship between the two groups need not, of course, be assumed.

To sum up, the trial trenches at Gawra have produced information of unusual importance. For an out-of-the-way corner of Mesopotamia we have obtained evidence of occupation in very early times by three distinct cultural groups. The order of succession of those groups is in itself a valuable contribution. Scattered indications as to the character of the peoples in question have not been wanting. What is, however, of more than local consequence is the incidental information about conditions in the South, which Gawra has furnished. The order of events in both parts of Mesopotamia appears to have been so very much alike at the junction of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages that the North and the South may be combined for the purpose of this closing sketch.

The earliest observable movement brings the Painted Ware Culture from the northern highlands, in which it most likely originated, down to the head of the Persian Gulf. This "Proto-Zagros" civilization established the first settlements at Gawra as well as in the South.

As the accumulating silt of the Two Rivers kept on adding to the inhabitable area of the fruitful plain, stone-using Semites from North Arabia, and possibly also from the West, gradually found their way to the newly opened low-lands; the northern invasion is checked by a counter-movement from the opposite direction. The highlanders are constantly pushed back towards their mountains until the entire region is cleared of them as far as the foothills of the Zagros.

In the meantime the fame of the fruitful lands in the narrow and elongated channel between the Tigris and the Euphrates brings to the country a third racial group, the Sumerians,⁷⁶ who come a longer distance, probably by sea, and drive in a wedge, so to speak, between the warring elements of North and South. That wedge does not penetrate beyond the Middle Euphrates, where the contest between the Semitic 'Amorites' and the 'Anatolians' continues uninterrupted down to the second millennium. But Lower Mesopotamia undergoes a profound transformation. Metal and writing make their

⁷⁶ Woolley assumes the same order of events (cf. *The Sumerians*, p. 6), but I find it entirely impossible to follow his ethnic speculations.

appearance and the Sumero-Akkadian civilization slowly emerges into the full light of history. So powerful is this combination of old and new resources that it sweeps before it everything on the way to Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. A score of centuries later the period of 'The King of Battle,' now a Heroic Age embellished by legend, still excites wonderment and admiration.

4. CATALOGUE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Note: The remarks following the titles are limited generally to such features as are not evident from the drawing or the photograph. In connection with the larger objects the word 'Baghdad' indicates that the piece is now in the Iraq Museum. Otherwise it is assumed that the finds are in the Dropsie College, Philadelphia. The numbers refer to the illustration figures.

1. Aerial view of the trial trenches at Tepe Gawra.
2. Map of Tepe Gawra and surroundings.
3. Contours and elevations of the mound.
4. Plan of the trenches at the end of the excavation.
5. Sections of the two trenches.
- 6-11. Plans at various levels.
- 12-13. Plans of levels above the Shrine.
14. View of the Shrine.
15. Section of the S. W. wall of the Shrine.
16. Plan of the Shrine.
17. Sections showing type of bonding used in the Shrine.
18. Plan at level Mf and section of the water conduit.
- 19-22. Reconstructions of larger vases; 19 comes from K3, 20 from J1, 21-22 from Mf.
23. Painted fragment (to be abbreviated as Pf.); reddish clay, sepia-black decoration; square B1.
24. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. red; C1.
25. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. sepia-black; E2.
26. Pf.; light pinkish clay; decor. inside top: red circle bordered by two black ones; outside: figures in black bordered by red; B2.
27. Pf.; clay pink-drab; decor. dark brown; C1.
31. Pf.; clay greenish-grey; decor. black; C2.
32. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. red; E3.
33. Pf.; clay drab; decor. black; D3.
34. Pf.; clay grey, very well fired; decor. black with a tinge of green; F2.
35. Pf.; clay greyish; decor. black; E3.
36. Pf.; red-drab clay; decor. red; B2.
37. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. red and black (lattice); B2.
38. Pf.; pinkish clay; decor. red; C2.

39. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. outside and inside (wavy lines) red; B4.
40. Pf.; grey clay; decor. black; A1.
41. Pf.; drab clay, poorly fired; surface creamy white, decor. dark brown bordered by red lines; B3.
42. Pf.; clay drab; decor. dark brown; C2.
43. Pf.; pink clay; decor. red; C2.
44. Pf.; clay and decor. as above; B4.
45. Pf.; clay light red; surface buff, decor. sepia; F5.
46. Pf.; clay light red; decor. dark red lines and sepia dots, partly faded; B4.
47. Pf.; clay reddish; surface buff; decor. black on the inside (left), black and bright red on the outside; D3.
48. Pf.; clay drab; surface creamy white, decor. dark brown; F6.
49. Pf.; details as above; E3.
50. Pf.; clay reddish, very well fired; surface drab, decor. sepia in lustrous paint; probably hand-turned; G5.
51. Pf.; clay reddish; decor. dark brown bordered by red; F3.
52. Pf.; greenish-grey clay; decor. black; B3.
53. Pf.; clay drab; surface creamy white, decor. dark brown; F2.
54. Pf.; reddish clay; surface buff, decor. deep red, partly faded; B4.
55. Pf.; clay greenish-grey; decor. black; F1.
56. Pf.; details as above; F2.
57. Pf.; clay grey; decor. dark brown; E4.
58. Pf.; details as above; D3.
59. Lamp; clay dark brown, poorly fired; ht. 32 mm. diam. 52 mm.; hand-made; D4.
60. Ledge-handle; C2.
61. Lug-handle, vertically pierced for suspension; D2.
62. Lug-handle, horizontally pierced; B1.
63. Pf. with loop-handle; E3.
- 64^a. Unpainted "burial-vessel," reconstructed; ht. 420 mm. diam. 460 mm.; G4.
- 64^b-70. Terra-cotta figurines; dark brown poorly baked clay.
 64. Seated human figure, headless; width 32 mm. B4 (Baghdad).
 65. Same as 64^b; width 42 mm.; there is a decoration of dark-brown vertical lines on the back; B2.
 - 66-68. Animal figurines from D2.
 - 68-70. Animal figurines from F2. The clay is light grey, well fired; probably later than the preceding figures.
 71. Button-seal of brown sandstone; G3.
 72. Gable-seal of red marble; surface find, but probably of the Gawra I period.
 73. Fragment with appliqué decoration; F1, hence possibly washed down from a higher level.

74. Painted pottery stand; dark-brown clay, decor. brown, ht. 32 mm. diam. 54 mm.; D4.
75. Goblet of poorly baked dark-brown clay; ht. 114 mm. diam. 175 mm.; G2.
76. Painted fragments photographed.
77. Top: selected obsidian cores and flakes. Center: basalt celt. Bottom: flint and chert implements. Gawra I and II.
78. Upper register: animal figurines of terra-cotta, Gawra II. Lower register: pottery figures and lamp, Gawra I.
79. Top: pottery wall-nails and cones, Gawra I. Center: marble saucer and ivory beads, Gawra I. Bottom: Beads of carnelian, lapis-lazuli, agate, and rock-crystal, Gawra III.
80. "Fountain-head" vase, section and view; ht. 320 mm., diam. 320 mm.; reddish clay, light-brown surface; L3 (Baghdad).
- 81-87. Pottery from Gawra II and III.
81. Flask, greenish-grey, rather coarse clay; ht. 68 mm., diam. 70 mm. I1.
82. Flask, drab clay; ht. 97, diam. 75 mm.; I1.
83. Flask, greenish-grey clay; ht. 100, diam. 88 mm.; I1.
84. Tumbler, greyish clay; ht. 75, diam. 61 mm.; L3 (Gawra III).
85. Vase, light-grey clay, grooved round the shoulder; wheel-made; ht. 78, diam. 75 mm. K2 (Gawra III).
86. Bowl, wheel-made; clay greenish-grey, very fine ware; ht. 62, diam. 70 mm.; M3 (Gawra III).
87. Flask with pointed base, coarse finish; reddish-drab clay; ht. 102, diam. 122 mm.; L3 (Gawra III).
88. Stone plate from Shrine, found near the entrance of the cella; ht. 72, diam. 226 mm. (Baghdad).
89. Baked-clay horns from Shrine (for exact position cf. Fig. 16); 210 by 225 mm. (Baghdad).
90. Coal brazier of porous stone from Shrine (cf. Fig. 16); ht. 305, diam. 360 mm.
91. Reconstruction of stamp-seal from several impressions in clay, found in the cult-chamber of the Shrine.
92. Terra-cotta animal, greyish clay; J2.
93. Marble object, possibly sling-stone; I2.
94. Mace-head of quartz, with tang preserved; 55 by 60 mm.; I1.
95. Miniature "tear-cup" of drab clay; ht. 16 mm., diam. 21 mm.; found in the storage room of the Shrine (cf. Fig. 16).
96. Terra-cotta dog, for wheels, with loop for pulling; reddish clay; I1.
97. "Covered wagon" of greyish-green clay; incised skeuomorphic decoration; ht. 62 mm., width 45 mm., length 68 mm.; K1.
98. Votive couch of greyish-green clay; incised and appliqué skeuomorphic decoration; ht. 79 mm., width 42 mm., length 129 mm.; two feet broken off; K4.
99. Part of terra-cotta dog, cf. Fig. 96. I1.

100. Votive "sedan-chair" incomplete at the top; 35 by 30 by 32 plus mm. Kf.
101. Photograph of the objects in Figs. 96-100.
102. Selected pottery from Gawra II and III, photographed.
103. Stone implements and weapons from Gawra II.
104. Photograph of phallic object from Shrine.
105. Drawing of the above object; ht. 97 mm., base 51 by 41 mm.
106. Top: knife-handle (Jc), colander (If), and fragment with incised decoration (Jl). Center: Spools from Gawra II and III. Bottom: Spindle whorls from Gawra I.
107. Vase, wheel-made, reddish clay; ht. 162, diam. 200 mm.; J1.
108. Lid of dark clay, surface black; ht. 68, diam. 130 mm., Jf.
109. Saucer, wheel-made, red-drab clay, well baked; ht. 50, diam. 112 mm.; J1.
110. Saucer, wheel-made, greenish-grey clay; ht. 40, diam. 112 mm.; J1.
111. Vase in which most of the copper objects and two of the cylinder-seals were found; grey clay, reddish slip; ht. 220, diam. 180 mm.; J1.
113. Wheel-made cup with small ring-stand; the neck is decorated with two red-painted circles; ht. 94, diam. 73 mm.; M2.
114. Delicately shaped wheel-made vase of greenish-grey clay, partly blackened by fire; ht. 80, diam. 88 mm.; J1.
115. Small wheel-made bowl of greenish-grey clay; ht. 41, diam. 60 mm.; Jf.
116. Flask partly warped and fused by fire; dark-grey clay; ht. 62, diam. 75 mm.; J1.
117. Animal figurine of greenish-grey clay; L2.
118. Small wheel-made bowl of greenish-grey clay, well-fired; ht. 56, diam. 80 mm.; Ja.
119. Reconstruction (partial) of a tripod dish; coarse drab clay; Ja.
120. Pottery wheel, Jd.
121. Pottery spool from If (Gawra II).
122. The same from Jf (Gawra III).
123. Scaraboid object of baked clay; ht. 26 mm., base 51 by 45 mm.; Jb.
124. Broken terra-cotta snake; Jd.
125. Clay mould of greenish-grey, well-baked clay; ht. 35, base 48 by 63 mm.; Jf.
126. Concave cylinder-seal of black diorite; adoration scene; J1.
127. Concave cylinder-seal; Ea and the streams; J1.
128. Cylinder-seal of black diorite; A Gilgamesh motive; J1.
129. Selected pottery from Gawra III, photographed.
- 130-135. Selected copper objects from Gawra III, photographed.



Fig. 1. Aerial View of the Trial Trenches at Tepe Gawra.
Courtesy of the British Royal Air Force.

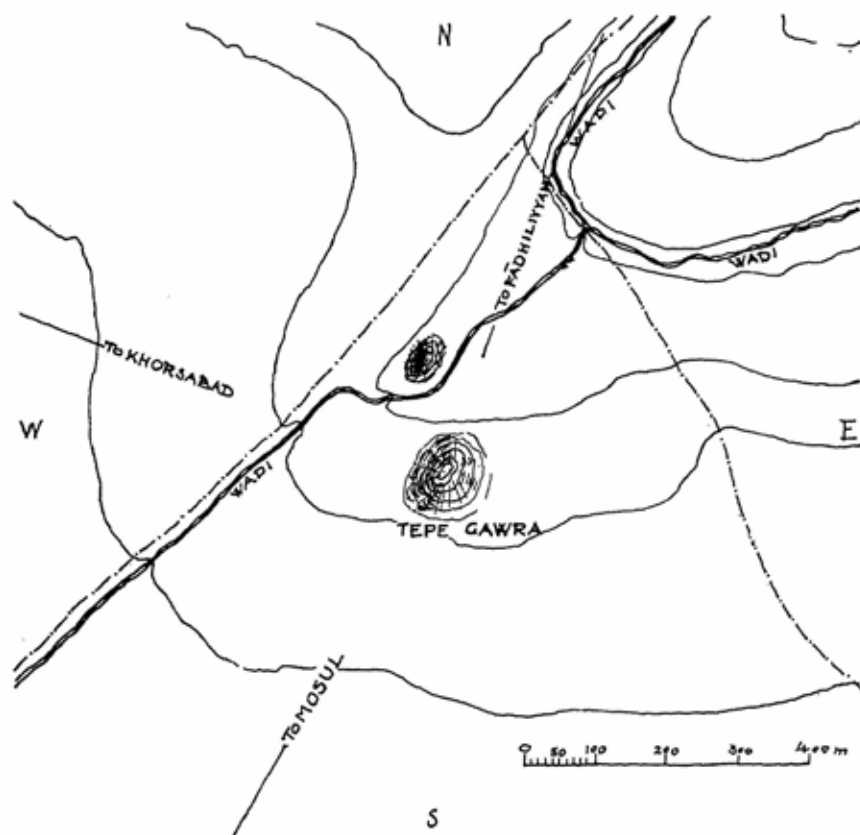


Fig. 2. Map of Tepe Gawra and Surroundings.

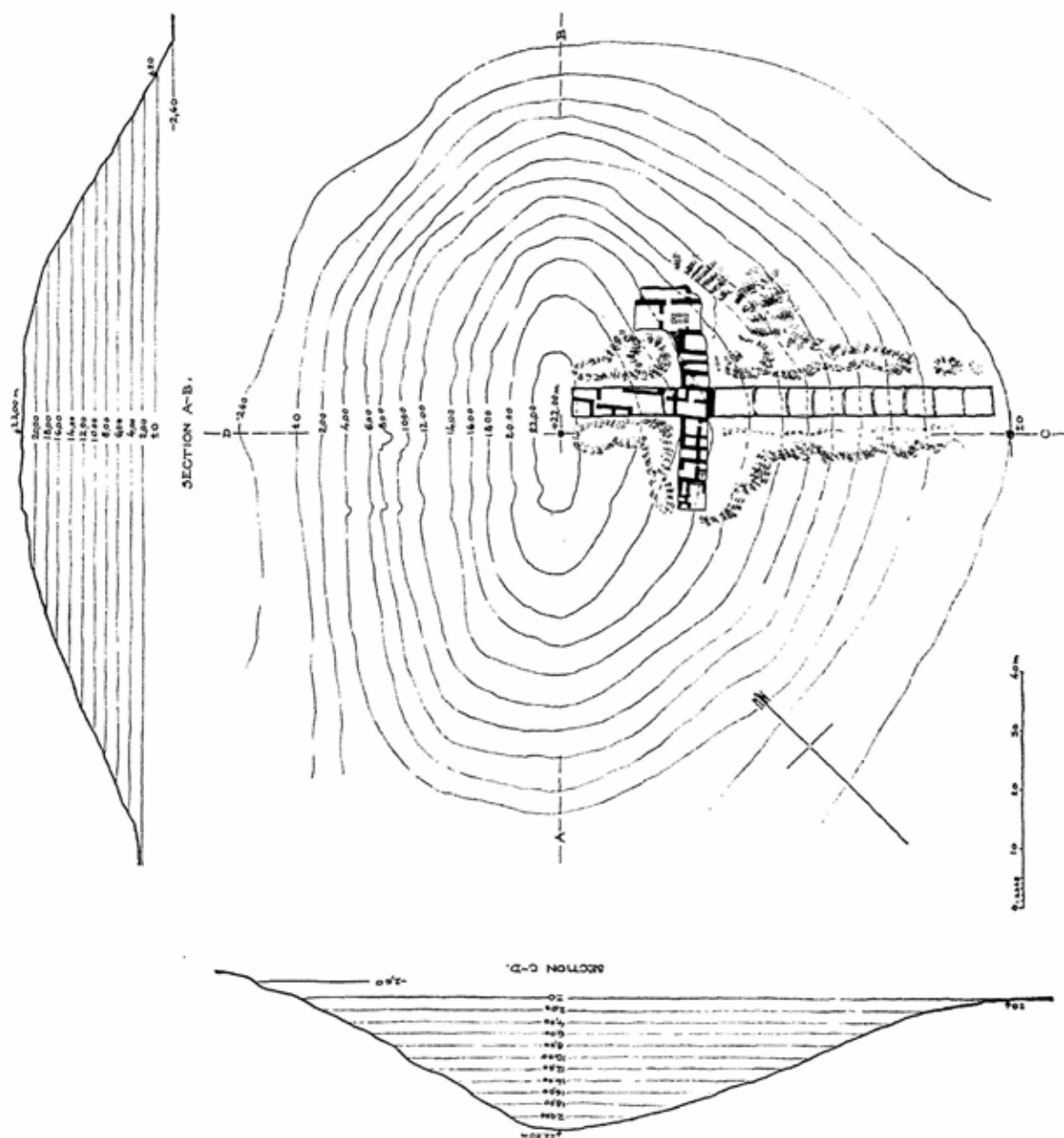


Fig. 3 a, b, c.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TRENCHES AT THE END OF THE EXCAVATION.

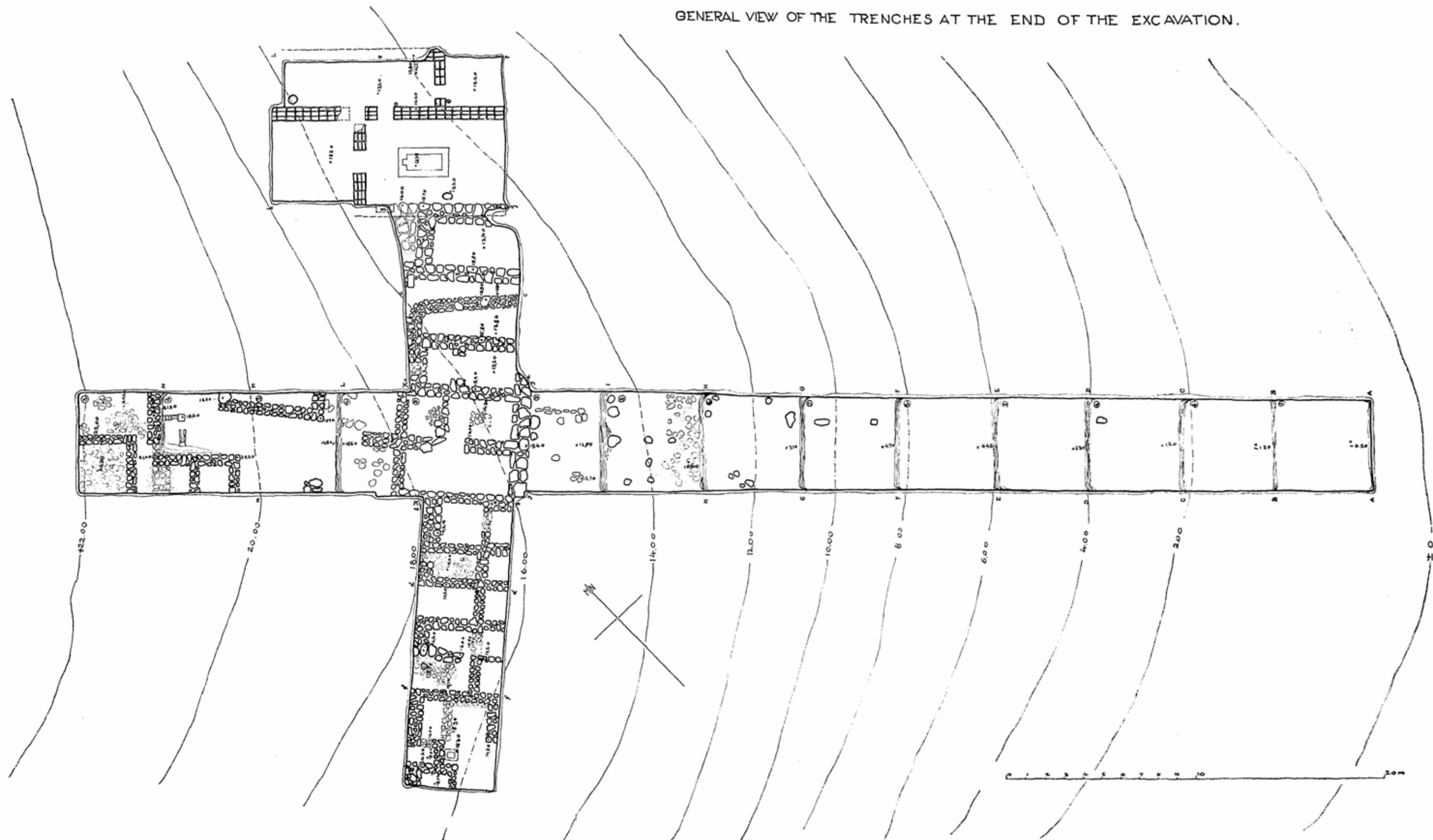


Fig. 4.

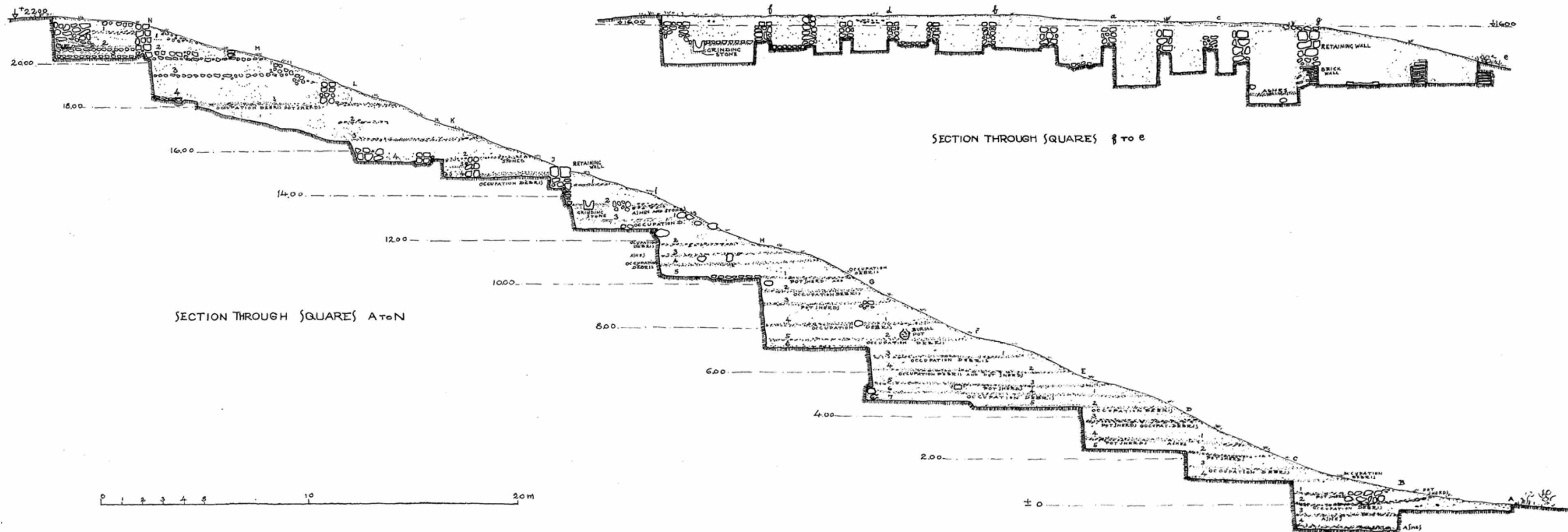


Fig. 5.

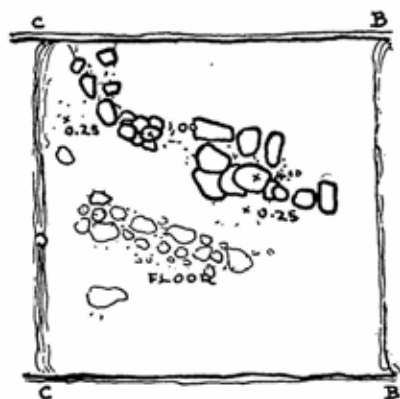


Fig. 6. Level B2.

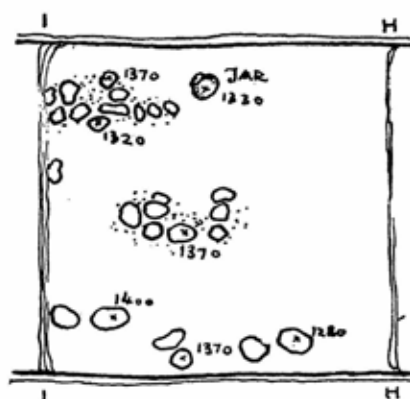


Fig. 7. Level H1.

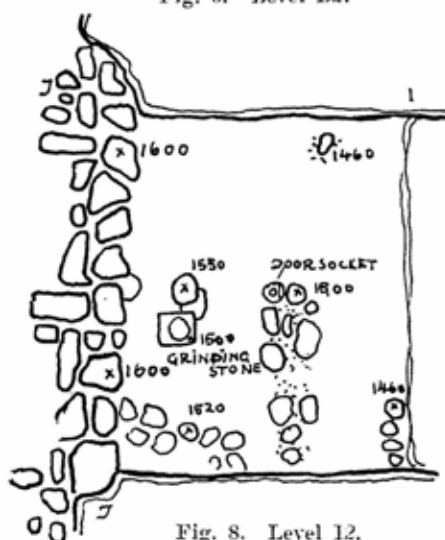


Fig. 8. Level I2.

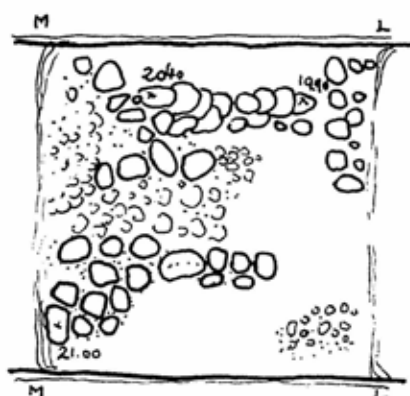


Fig. 9. Level L2.



Fig. 10. Level M1.



Fig. 11. Level N1.

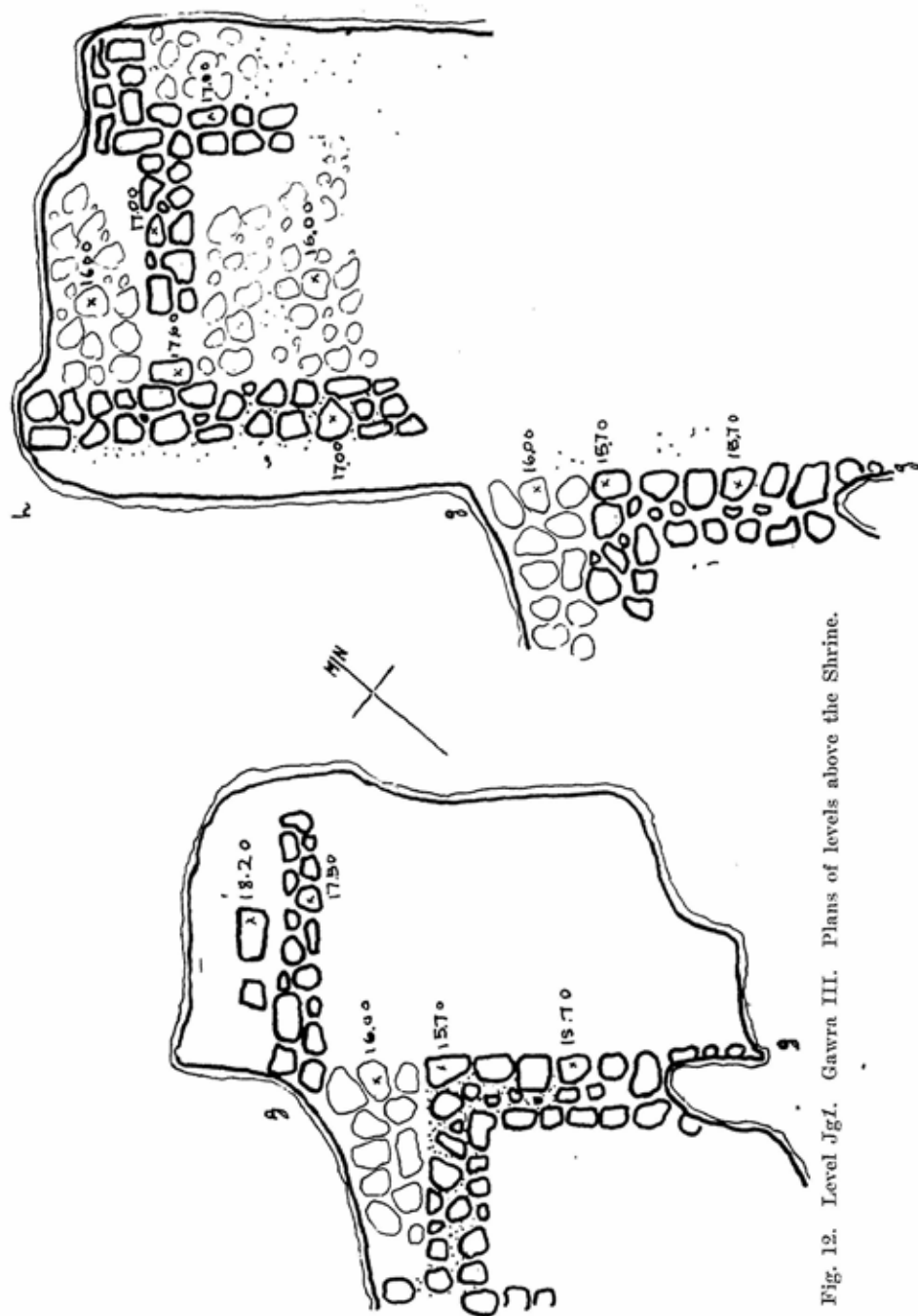


Fig. 12. Level Jg1. Gawra III. Plans of levels above the Shrine.

Fig. 13. Level Jg-h2. Scale 1:100.

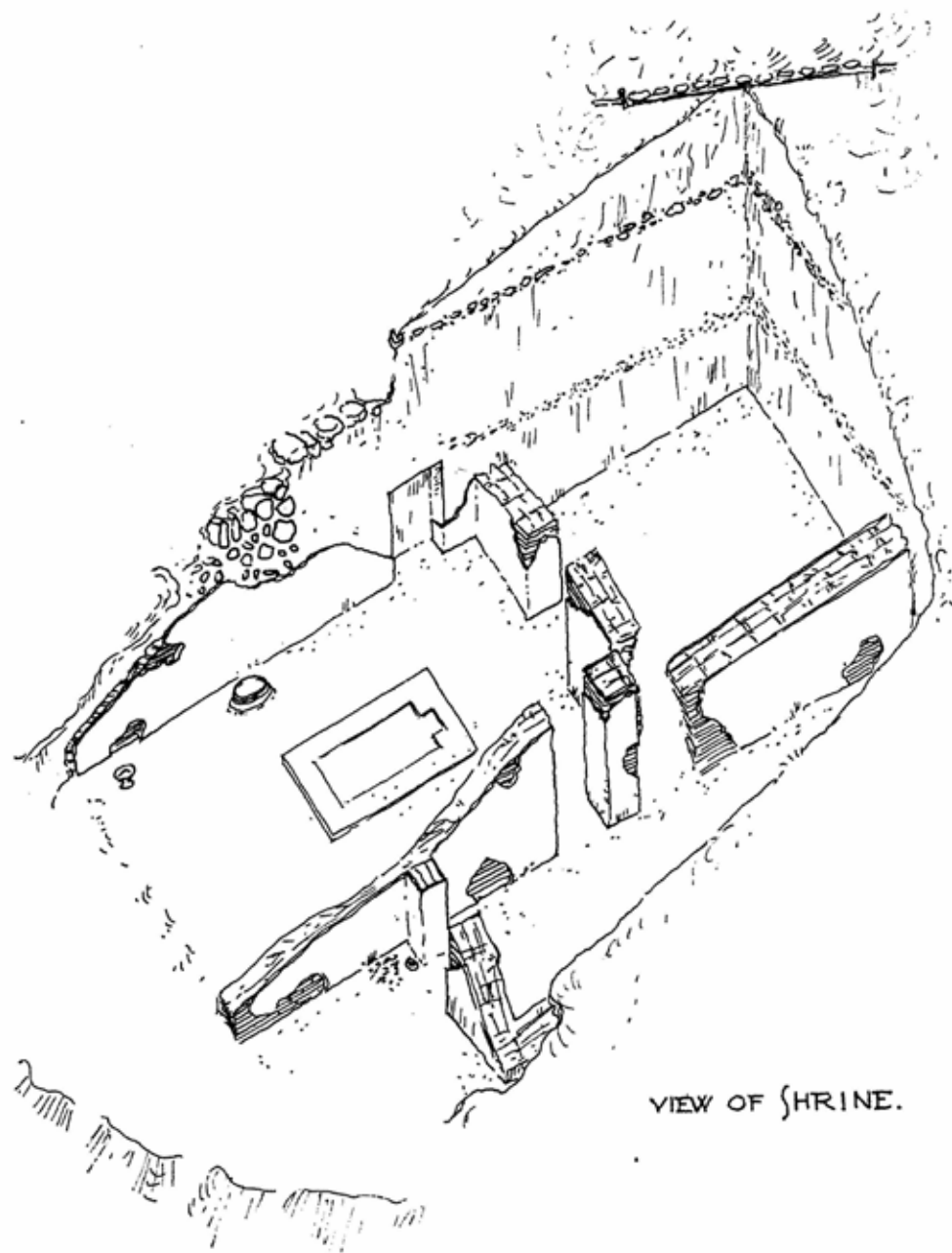


Fig. 14.

SECTION A-B SHOWING S.W. WALL

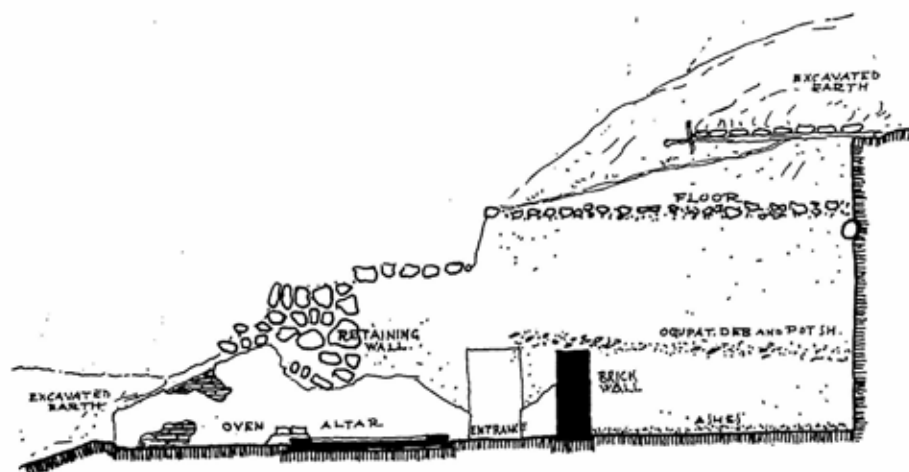


Fig. 15. Section A-B Showing S. W. Wall.

PLAN OF THE SHRINE

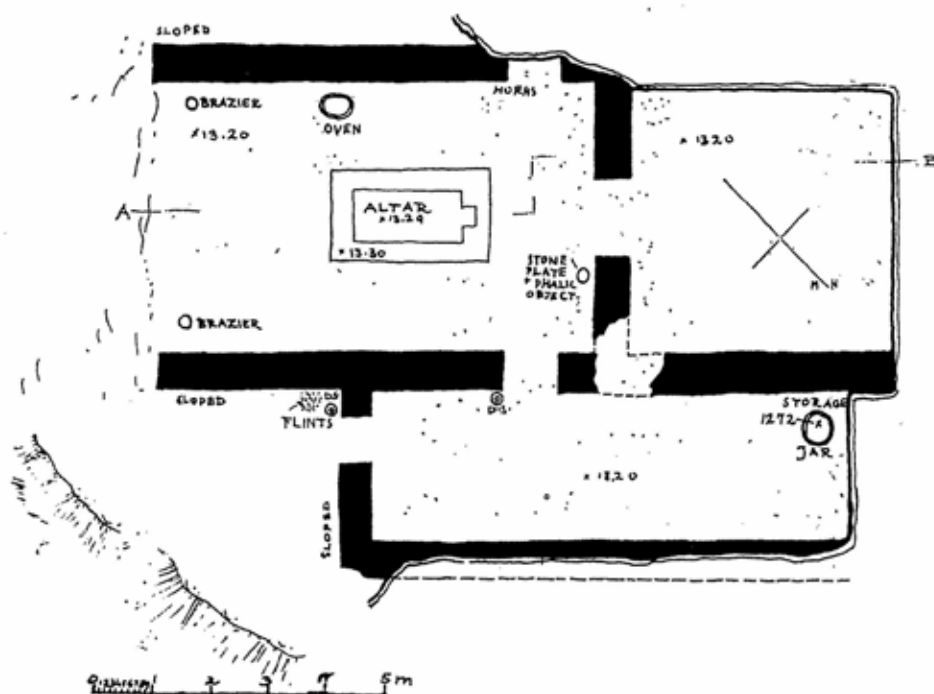


Fig. 16. Plan of the Shrine.

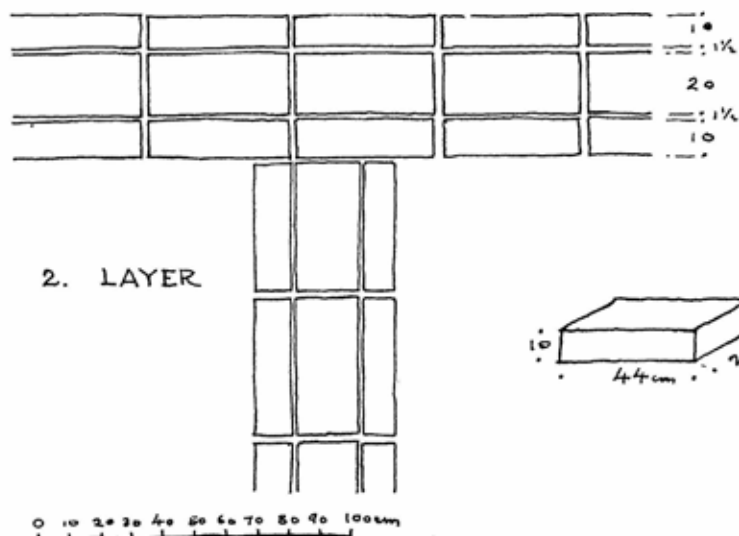
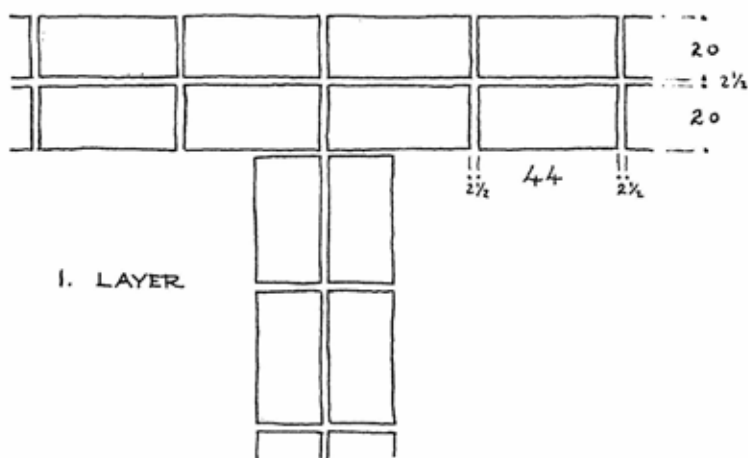
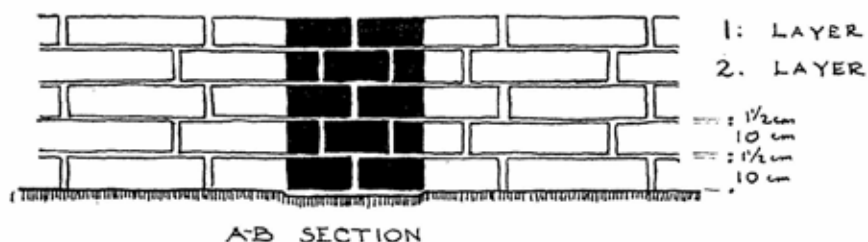


Fig. 17. Sections Showing Type of Bonding Used in Shrine.

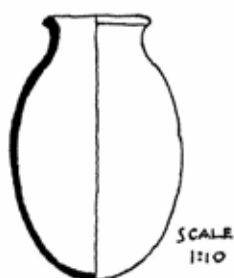


Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.

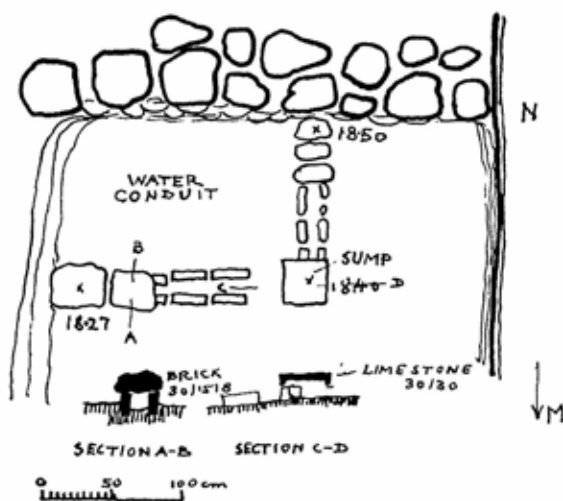


Fig. 18. M4.



Fig. 21.

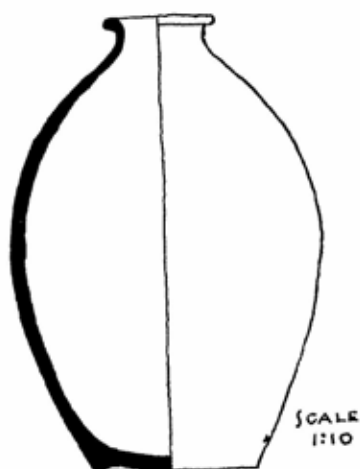


Fig. 22.

Plan of Water Conduit and Reconstructions of Larger Vases.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2:5.

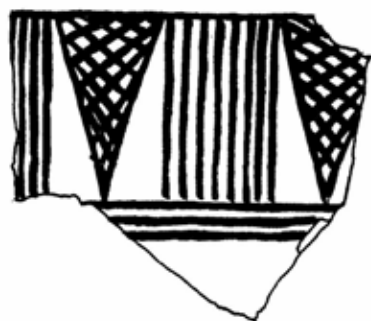


Fig. 27.

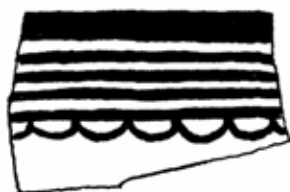


Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.



Fig. 30.



Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

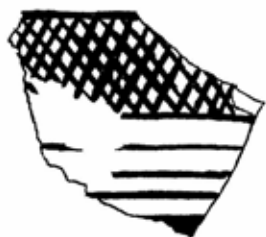


Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.



Fig. 33.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.



Fig. 34.



Fig. 35.

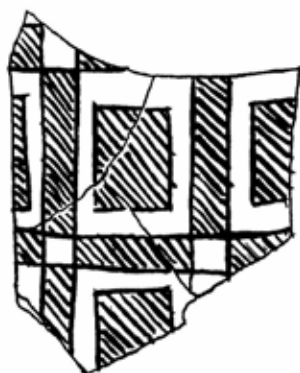


Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.

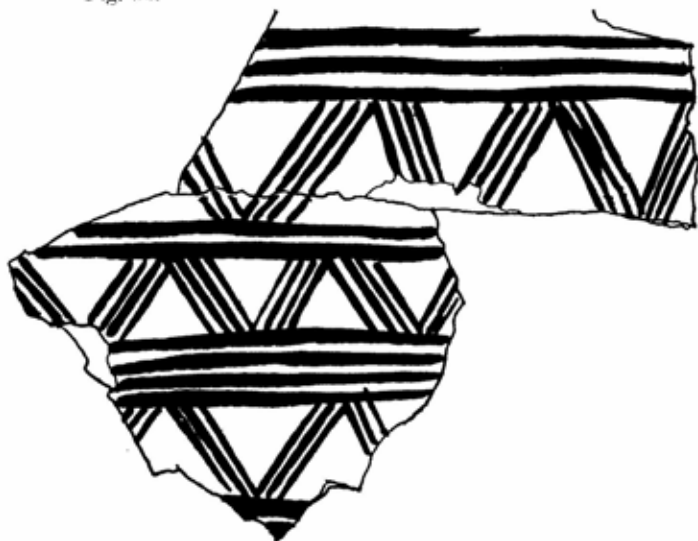


Fig. 38.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2:5.



Outside



Inside

Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.

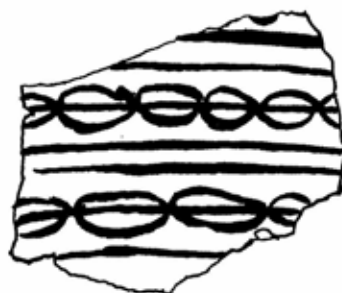


Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.



Fig. 44.



Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.



Fig. 45.



Fig. 46.



Outside



Inside

Fig. 47.



Fig. 48.



Fig. 49.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2:5.



Fig. 50.



Fig. 51.



Fig. 52.

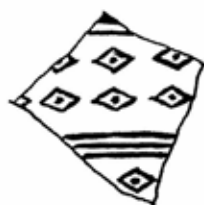


Fig. 53.



Fig. 54.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.



Fig. 55.

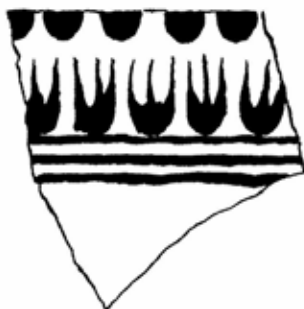


Fig. 56.

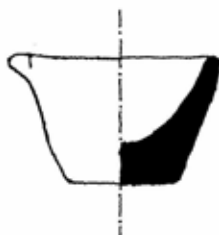


Fig. 57.



Fig. 58.

Fig. 59.



Top and Center: Painted Ware from Gawra I; Scale 2:5.

Bottom: Unpainted Lamp, Gawra I; Scale 1:2.



Fig. 60.



Fig. 61.

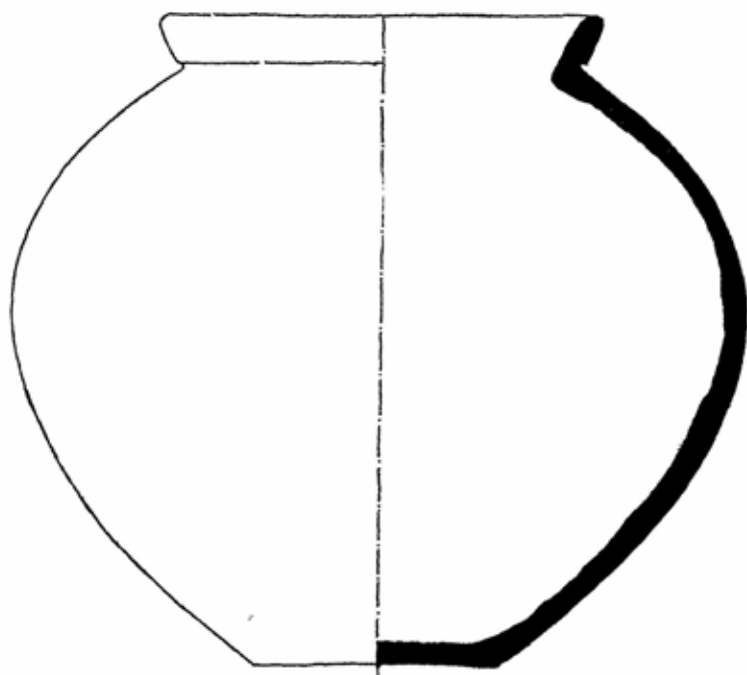


Fig. 64a.



Fig. 62.



Fig. 63.

Pottery from Gawra I.

Top and bottom: Types of Handles; Scale 2: 5.

Center: "Burial-pot," reconstructed; Scale 1: 5.

Fig. 64^b.

Fig. 65.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.



Fig. 68.



Fig. 69.



Fig. 70.

Terra-Cotta Figurines from Gawra I.

Scale 2: 5.



Fig. 71.



Fig. 72.

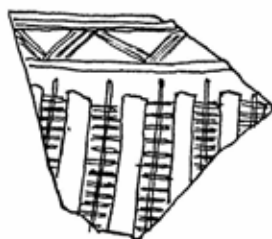


Fig. 73.

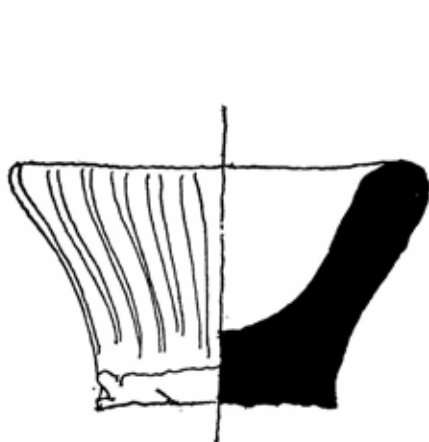


Fig. 74.

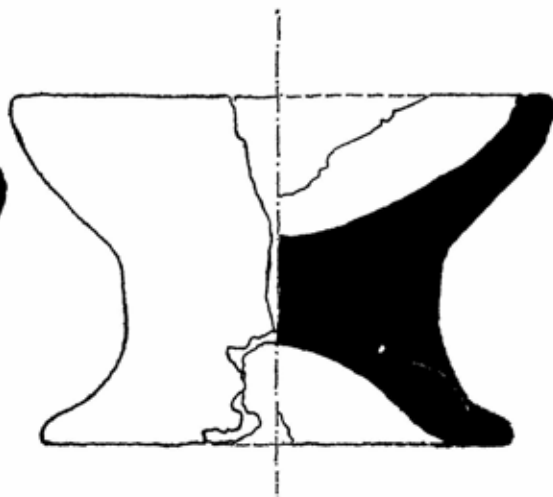


Fig. 75.

Objects from Gawra I.

Top: Stamp seals. Center: Fragment with appliqué decoration. Bottom: Painted Pottery Stand and Goblet. The Scale in Figs. 72, 75 is 2:5, otherwise 1:1.



Fig. 76. Painted Pottery from Gawra I.
Scale 1:2.



Fig. 77. Top: Obsidian Cores and Flakes, Gawra I and II.
Center: Basalt Celt, Gawra I.
Bottom: Flint and Chert Implements, the three in the middle showing
remains of encasing materials, Gawra I and II.
Scale 1: 2.



Fig. 78. Top—Terra-Cotta Figurines, Gawra II.
Bottom—Clay Animals, Lamp and Human Figurine, Gawra I.
Scale 2:5.

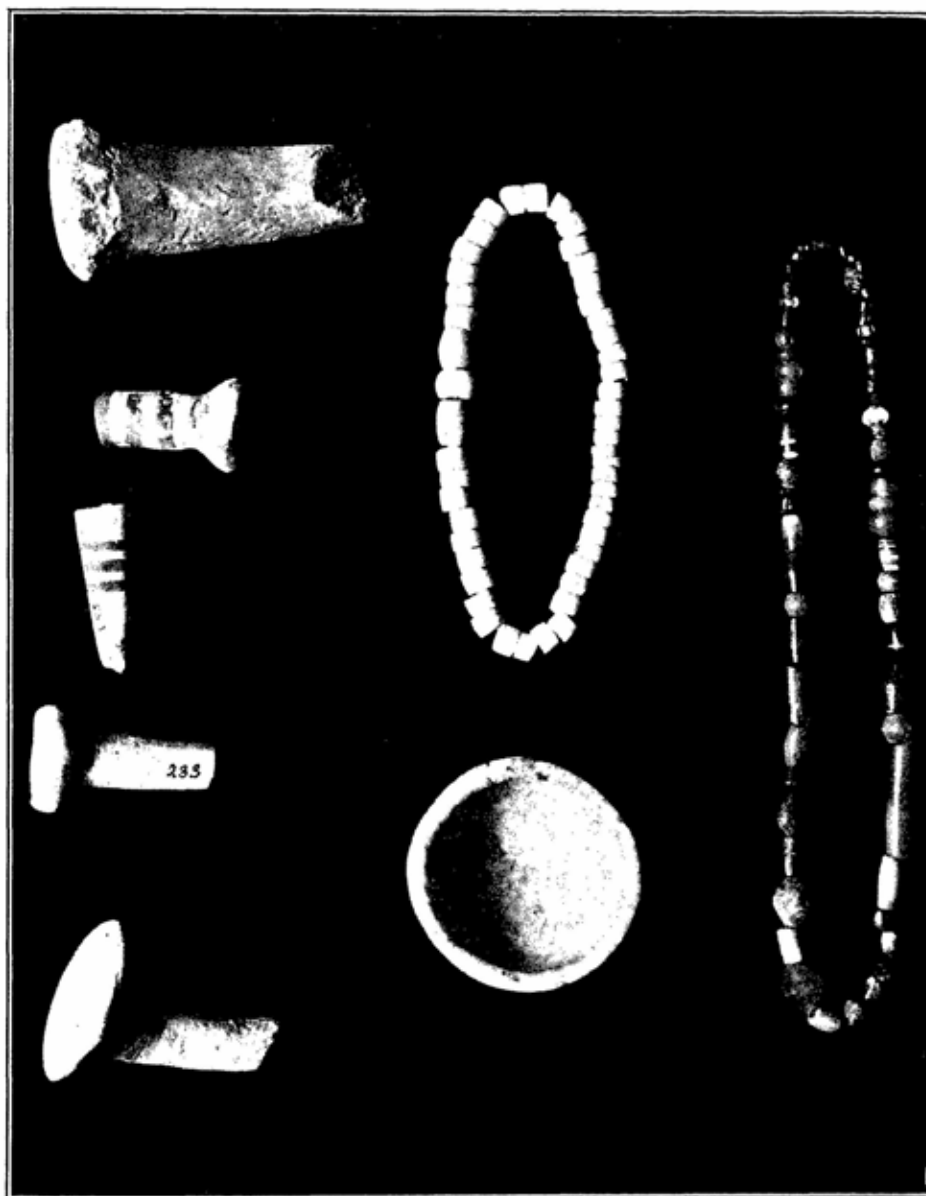


Fig. 79. Top—Pottery Wall-Nails and Cones, Gawra I.
 Center—Marble Saucer and Ivory Beads, Gawra I.
 Bottom—Beads of Carnelian, Lapis-Lazuli, Agate, and Rock Crystal,
 Gawra III.

Scale 1:2.

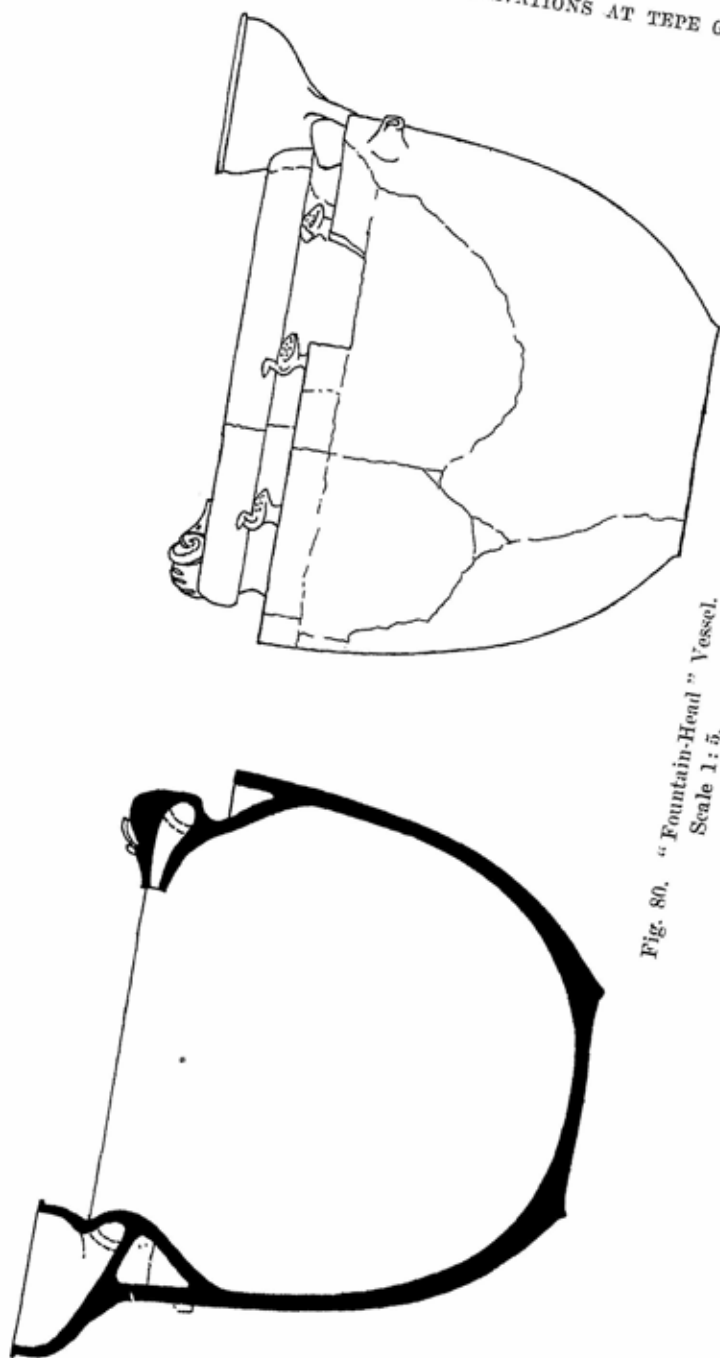


Fig. 80. "Fountain-Head" Vessel.
Scale 1: 5.



Fig. 81.



Fig. 82.

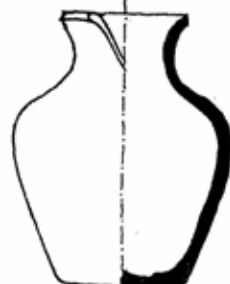


Fig. 84.

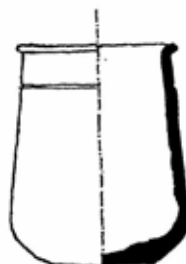


Fig. 86.

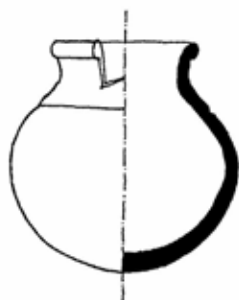


Fig. 87.

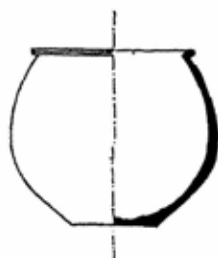


Fig. 88.

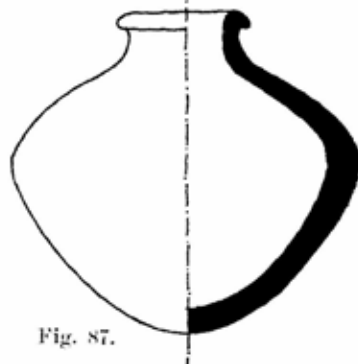


Fig. 89.



Fig. 90.

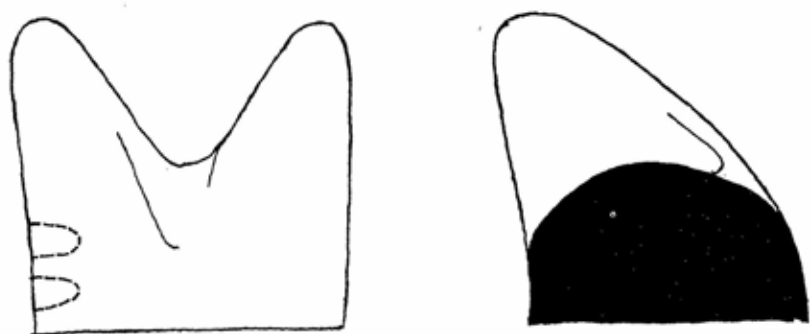


Fig. 89.

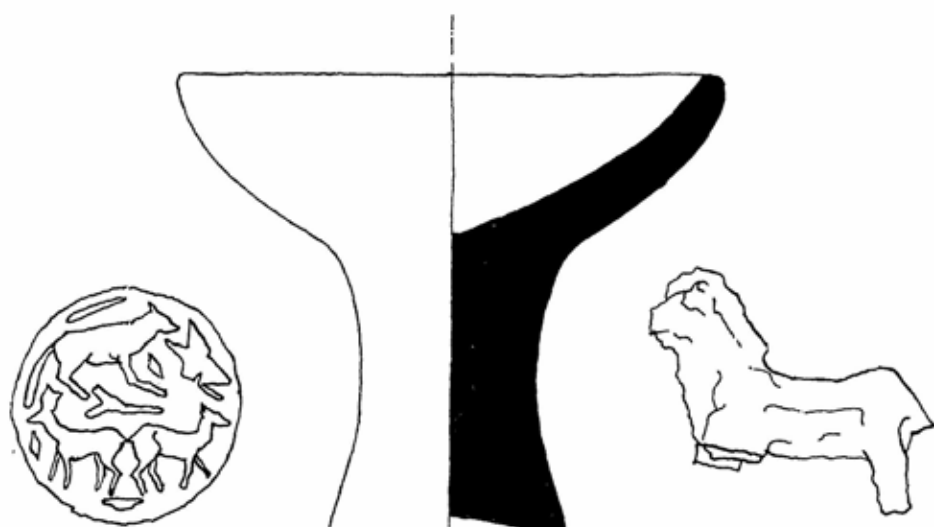


Fig. 91.

Fig. 90.

Fig. 92.

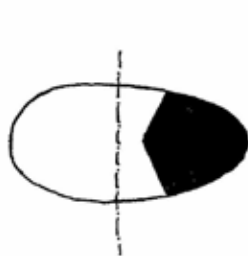


Fig. 93.

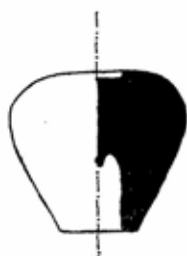


Fig. 94.

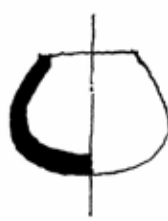


Fig. 95.

Objects from Shrine, Gawra II.

Top—Pair of Clay horns, with two holes for suspension 1: 5.

Center—(left to right) Seal Impression reconstructed 1: 1; Coal brazier of porous stone 1: 5; Herra-Cotta figurine 2: 5.

Bottom (left to right)—Marble sling-stone (?) 2: 5; Mace-head of quartz 2: 5; Votive "tear cup" 1: 1.



Fig. 96.

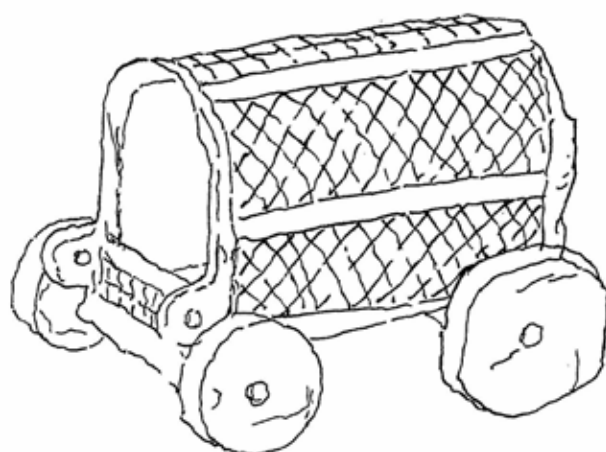


Fig. 97.

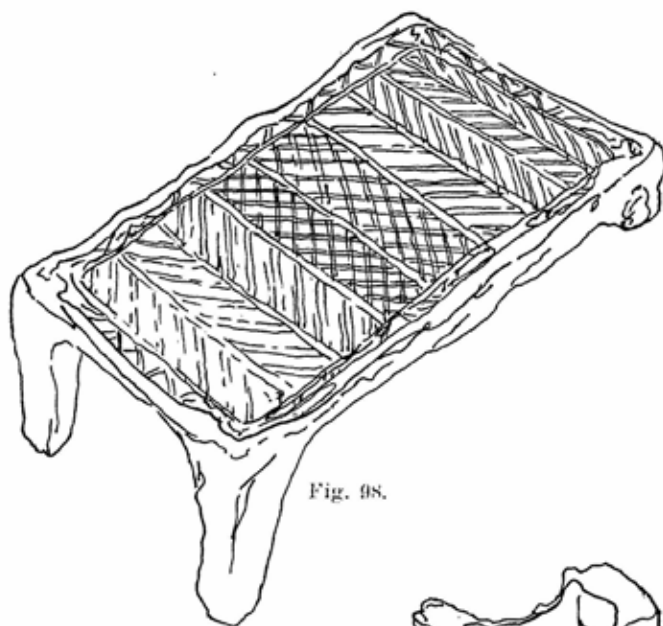


Fig. 98.



Fig. 99.



Fig. 100.

Votive Objects from Gawra.

Top—Terra-Cotta dog (2:5); "Covered Wagon" (1:1).
 Center—Couch with skeuomorphic decoration (approximately 1:2).
 Bottom—Fragment of animal figurine (2:5); "Sedan Chair," incomplete (1:1).

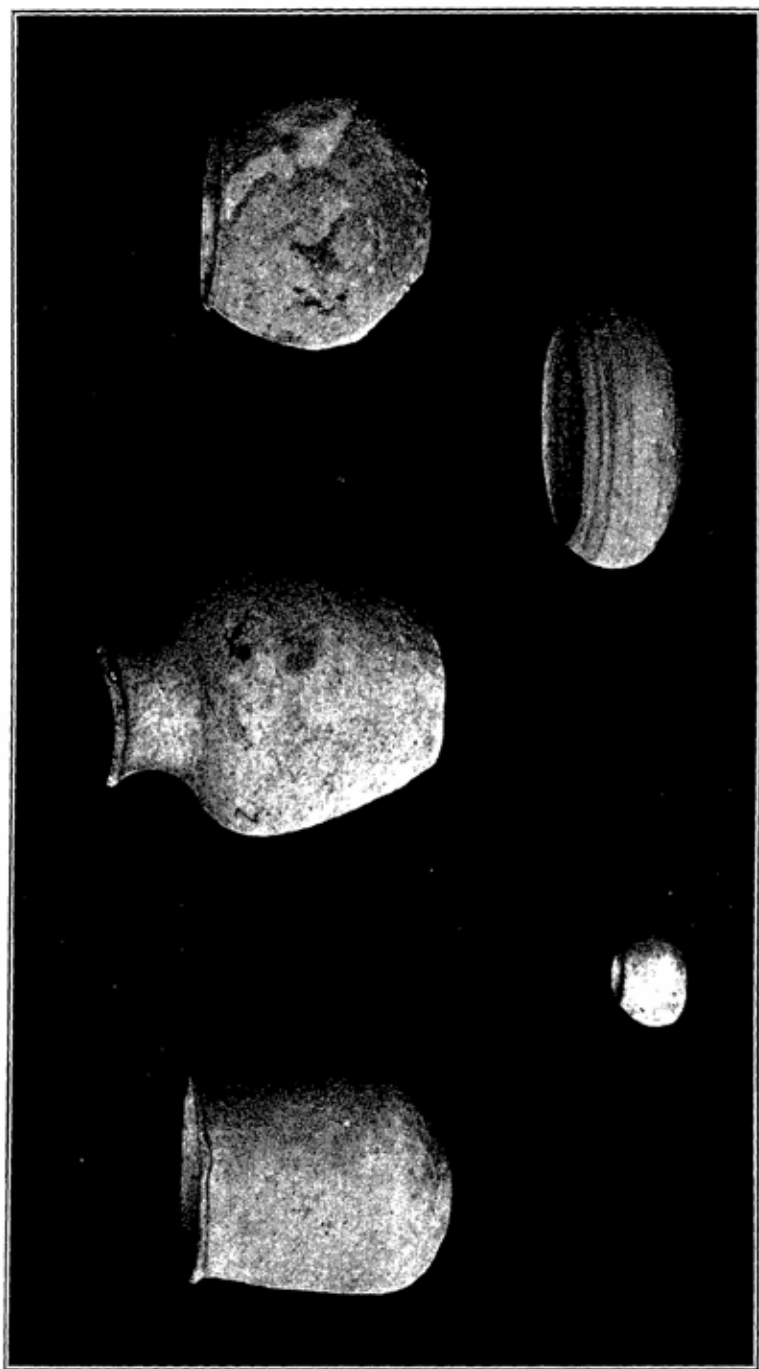


Fig. 101. Pottery from Gawra II and III.

Scale 2:5.

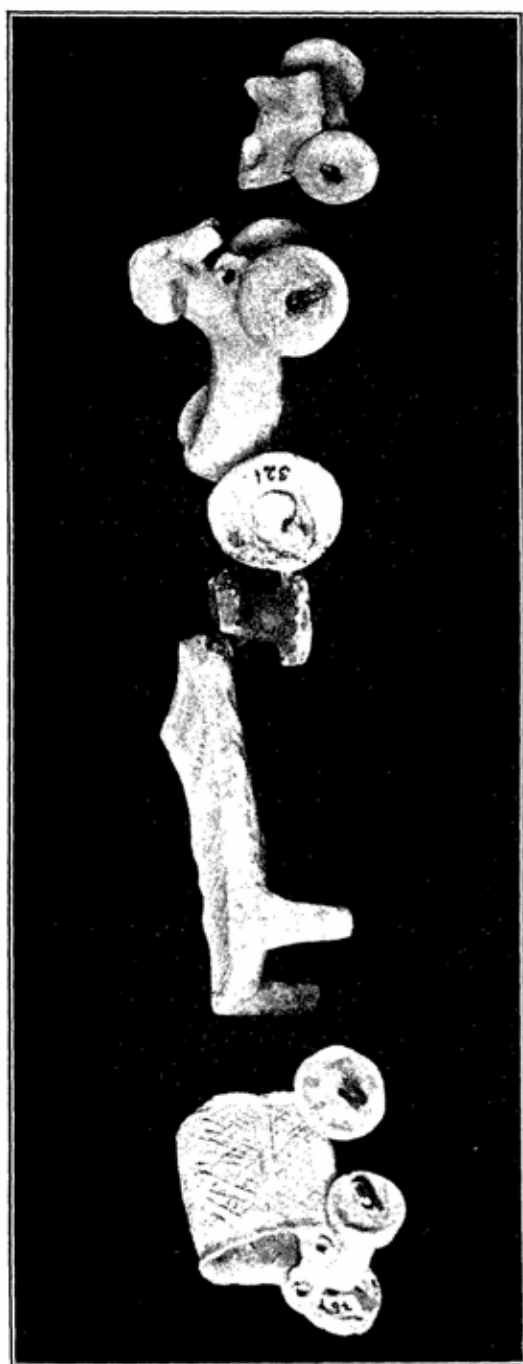


Fig. 102. Votive Objects from Gawra.
Scale 2:5.

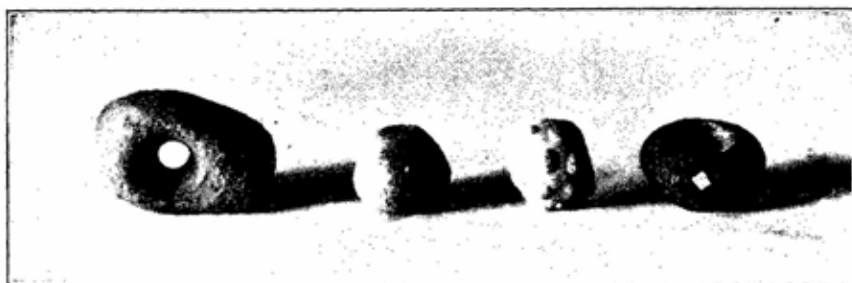


Fig. 103.

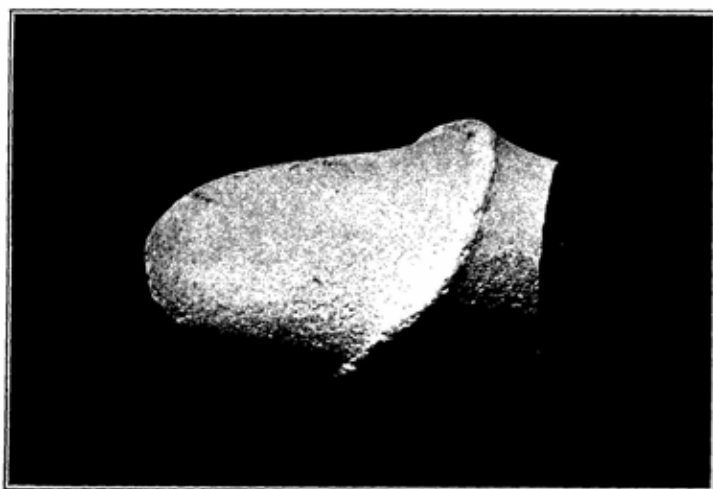


Fig. 104.

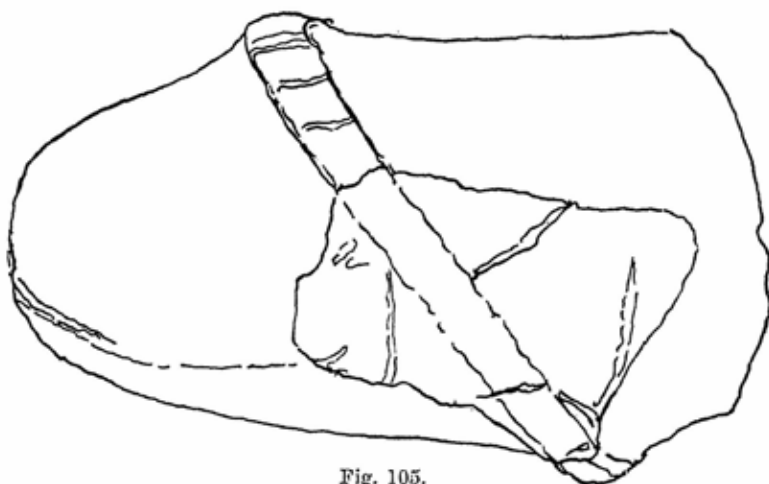


Fig. 105.

Top—Stone Objects from Gawra II.

Center and Bottom—Phallic Object from Shrine in Gawra II.

Scales 1: 2 and 1: 1.

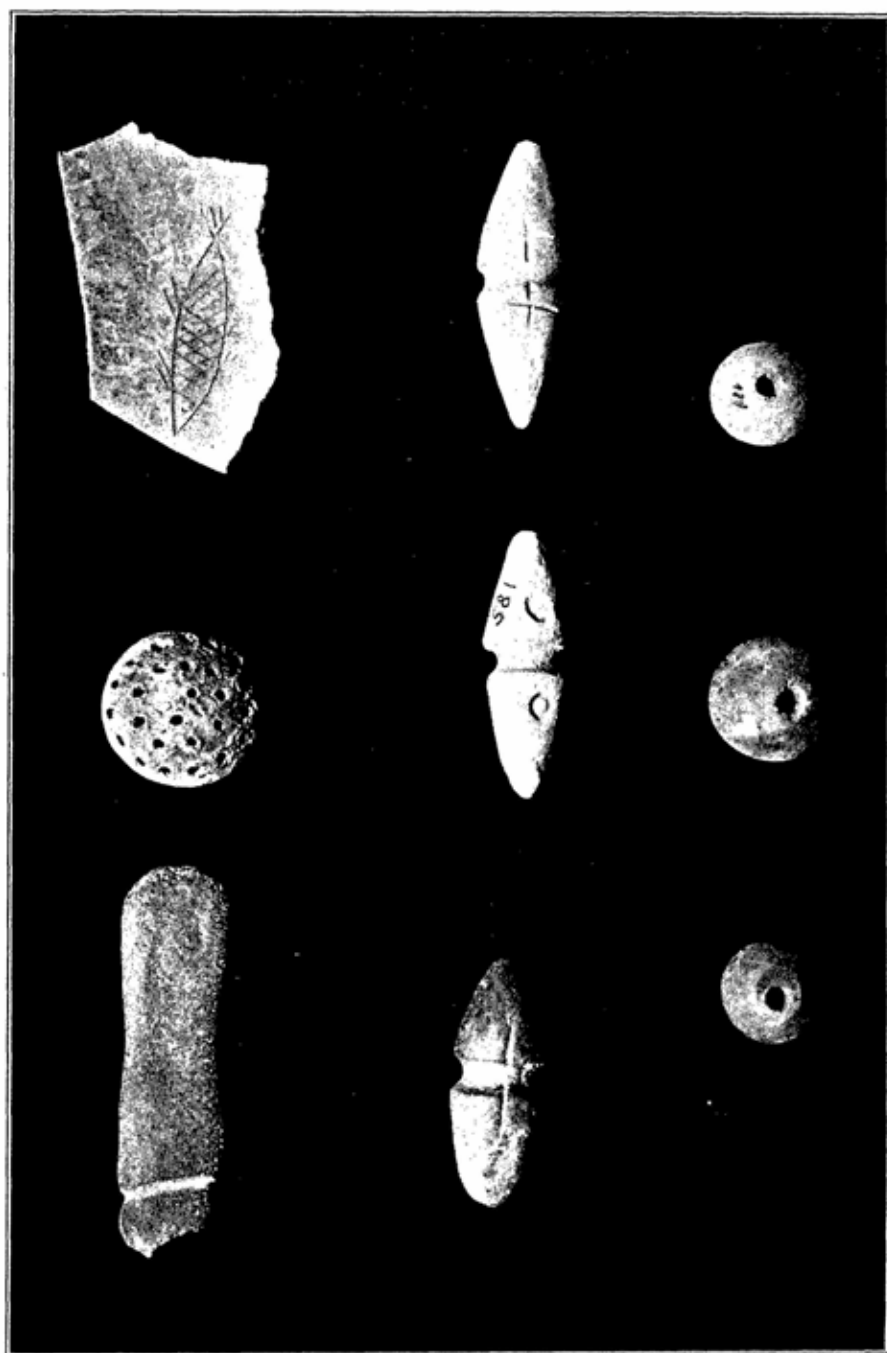


Fig. 106. Top—Colander from Gawra II; Knife handle and potsherd with fish decoration, Gawra III.

Center—Spools from Gawra II (left) and Gawra III.

Bottom—Whorls from Gawra I.

Scale 1 : 2.

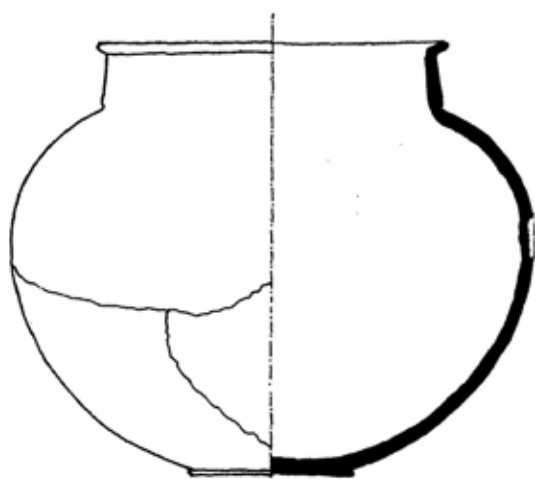


Fig. 107.

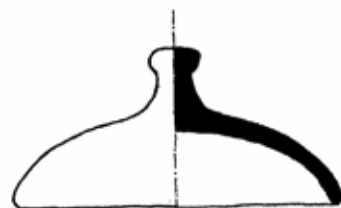


Fig. 108.

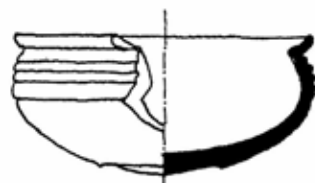


Fig. 109.



Fig. 110.

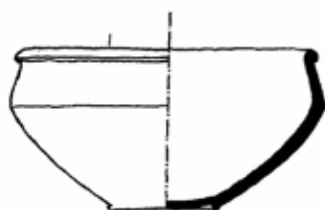


Fig. 111.

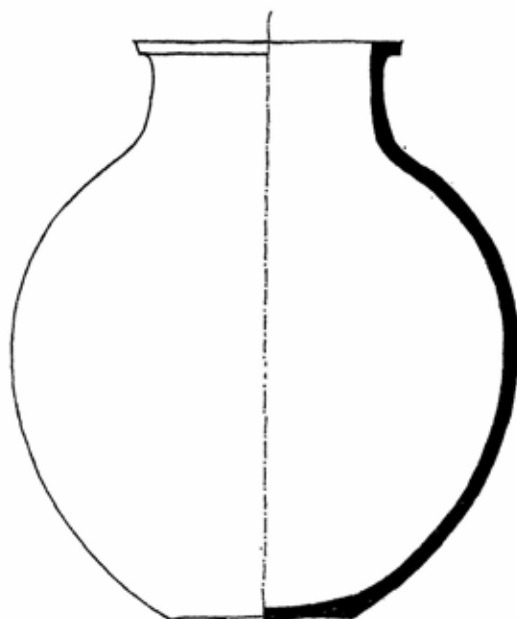


Fig. 112.

Pottery from Gawra III (2:5).

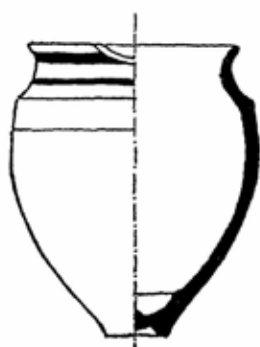


Fig. 113.



Fig. 114.

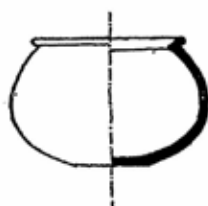


Fig. 115.



Fig. 116.



Fig. 117.

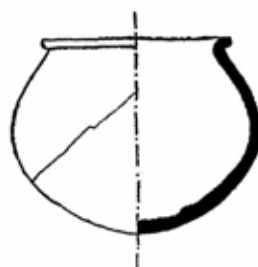


Fig. 118.



Fig. 119.

Pottery Pieces from Gawra III (2: 5).

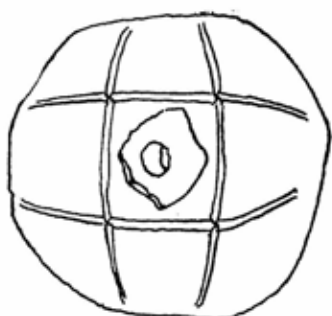


Fig. 120.

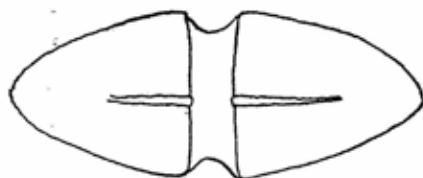


Fig. 121.

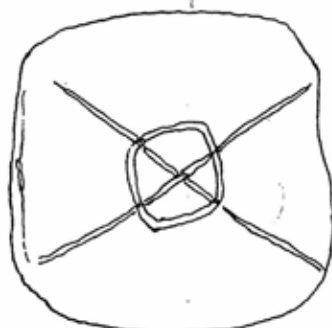


Fig. 123.

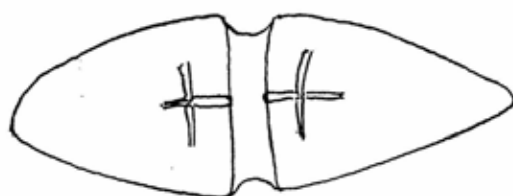


Fig. 122.

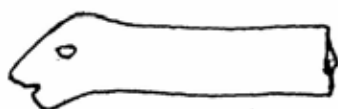


Fig. 124.

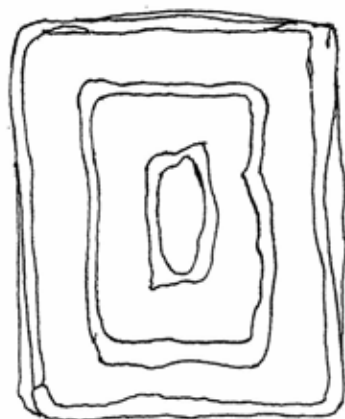


Fig. 125.



Sundry Clay Objects (Scale 1:1).

Top—Miniature chariot wheel, Gawra III.

Center Left—Two spindles with incised marks, the upper one from Gawra II and the lower from Gawra III.

Center Right—Scaraboid object and fragment of snake, Gawra III.

Bottom—Mould from Gawra III.



Fig. 126.



Fig. 127.

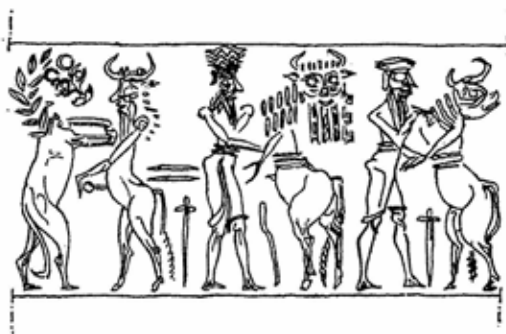


Fig. 128.



Cylinder-Seals from Gawra III.

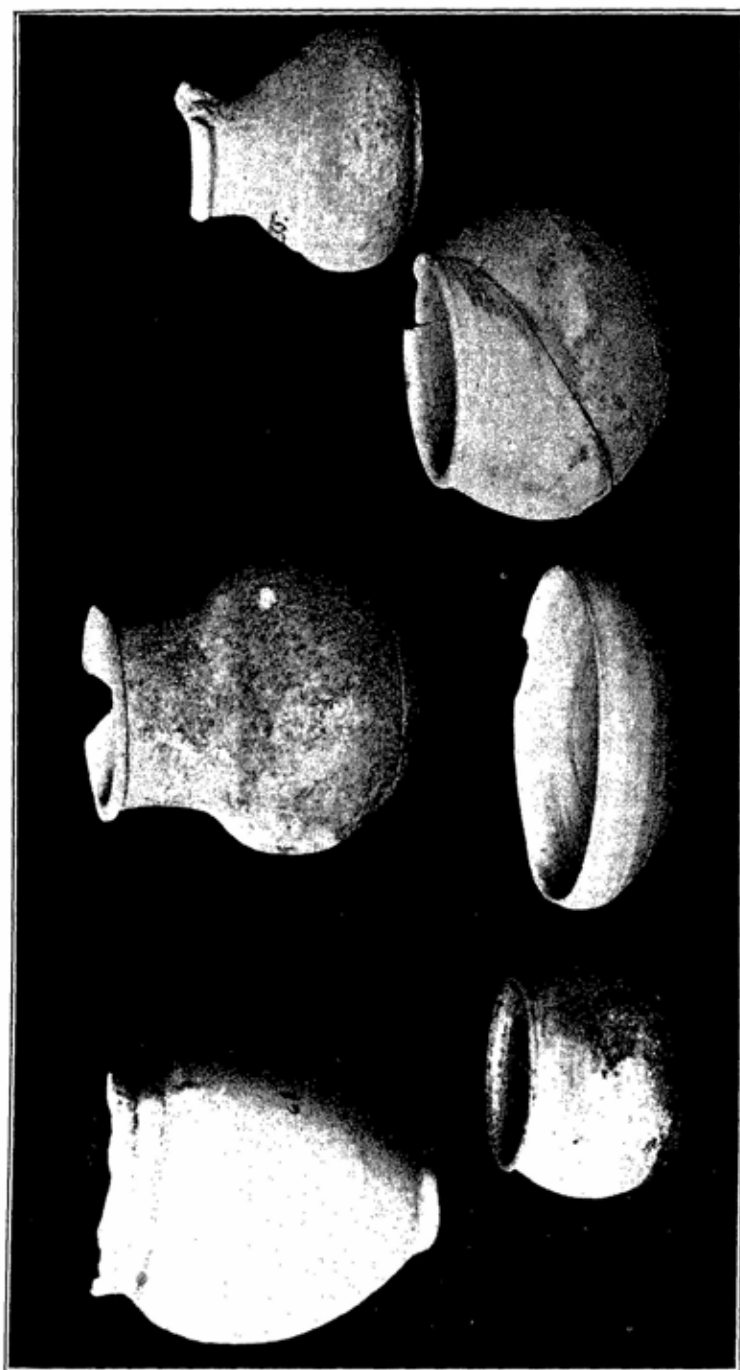


Fig. 129. Pottery from Gawra III.
Scale 2: 5.

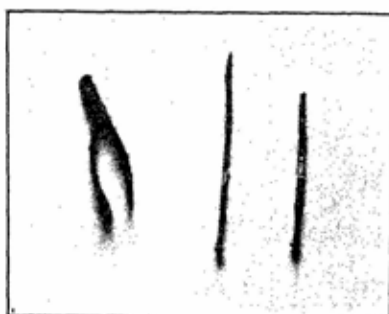


Fig. 130.

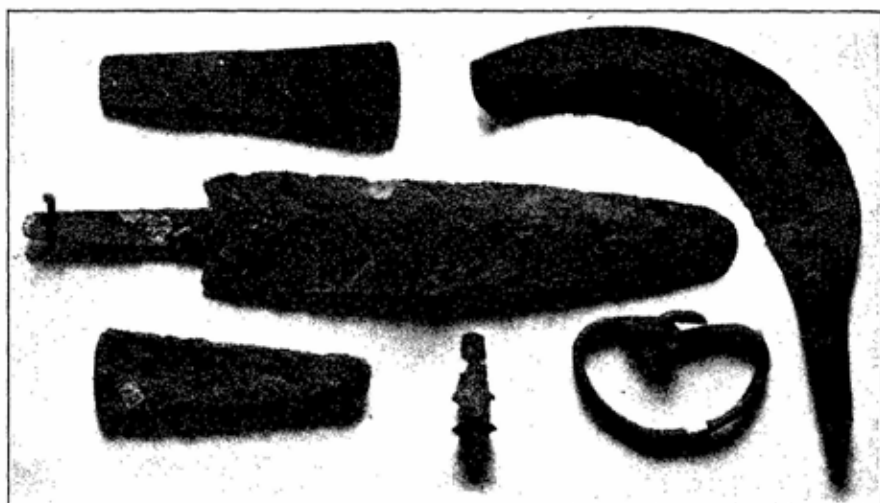


Fig. 131.

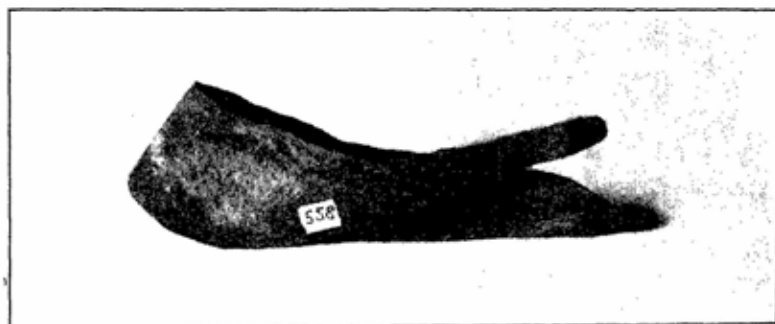


Fig. 132.

Copper Objects from Gawra III.

Top—Forceps and Needles.

Center—Sickle, Spear-Head, Snake Anklet, Miniature Pick-head and Chisels.

Bottom—Bent Sickle.

Scale approximately 1: 5.

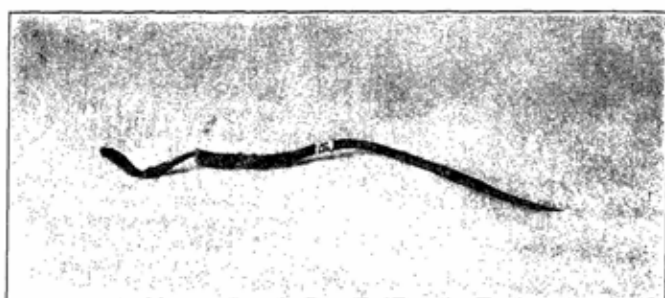


Fig. 133.



Fig. 134.

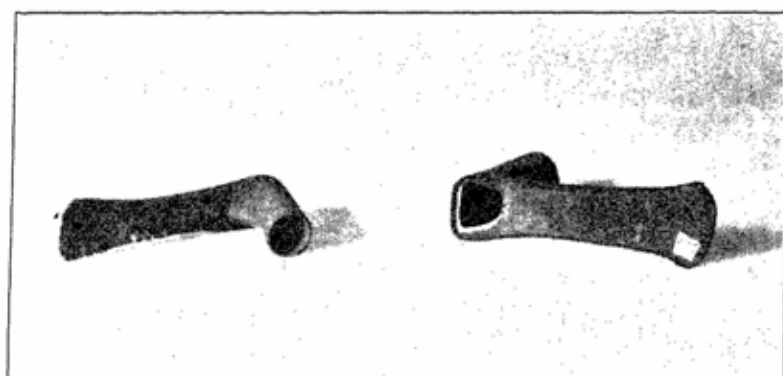


Fig. 135.

Copper Objects from Gawra III.

Top—Snake.

Center—Hooks, Spatulae, etc.

Bottom—Axe-Heads.

Scale approximately 1:3.



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